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A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF ADVANCED THOUGHT

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18 OCT 19
MADRAS

EDITOR

E. KRISHNA IYER, B.A., B.L.

VOL. I JUNE 1934 NO 1

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A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF ADVANCED THOUGHT

EDITOR

E. KRISHNA IYER, B.A., B.L.

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THE NEW AGE

VOL. I — JUNE 1934 — NO. I

OURSELVES

This is an age of intense conflicts wherein justice and fairplay are almost illusory and the might of the possessing decides issues and directs human destinies invariably in its own interests. The artificial walls and barriers between communities and nations and the rapacious and soul killing imperialism : the maladjustment of production and distribution and the merciless hunt for world-markets: the jugglery in public finance, currency and commerce and the exploitation of the masses for the luxury of a few : these are only some among the many broad factors that are contributing to the misery of the world in general ; and the confusion of purpose and methods in the ostensible attempt to alleviate it, is only adding to the suffering of the majority of humanity. In such a state of affairs the advocacy of ideals which will help to enlarge the human heart, directing it in the service of the commonweal must commend itself to those who believe in progress, equity and fair play. Any attempt to expound the spirit of collective enterprise for common benefit ought to be a welcome relief from the general state of extreme individualism based on mere selfishness, exploitation and profiteering.

Though no one can claim to be infallible in the matter of propounding theories of human relationship, the fundamental right of everyman to exist — and exist decently too—and to have opportunity to work, is not and cannot be challenged even by the worst opponents of social progress. No theory or state of affairs based on the happiness of a few at the expense of the rest can hold sway for long unchallenged.

" இனி ஒருவிதி செய்வோம். அதை எந்தநாளும் காப்போம். தனி ஒருவனுக்குணவில்லை யெனில் ஜகத்தினை யழித்திடுவோம்." "We shall make a rule henceforth and keep it for ever—Let us destroy that world which denieth food for any." In these words the late Subramania Bharathi the great Tamil poet issued his clarion call to the new age.

Changes in forms of society to suit growing needs and ideas are as necessary and inevitable as changes in natural phenomena. A sympathetic outlook, a spirit of toleration towards real progress and a happy sense of sportsmanship on the part of those who are opposed to new ideas or at any rate, a sensible and graceful bowing to the inevitable will tend a great deal to an easy and happy accomplishment of new social reconstruction and relationship.

The conflicts in which men and

women are engaged in various countries of the world are gradually but inevitably fusing into one huge struggle of humanity against organised exploitation and oppression. It is not merely one of seeking new forms of Government or economic relationship but fundamentally a struggle for a rational system of values in which every individual is significant and has a place mainly in relation to his fellow-men. The 'New Age' seeks to be a factor in this country to join the great army engaged in that huge struggle all over the world.

In such a state of intense political, economic and social conflicts and unsettled conditions prevalent in every part of the globe, the average mind is apt to involve itself in the labrynthian intricacies of parochial, immediate and current problems and even in India it is no exception to the rule. While none can ignore such problems the necessity to go behind these and search for general world forces that give rise to these problems cannot also be ignored. For, the time is long past when India could hold aloof from international forces and problems. Even if India were an independent nation today she cannot escape them. In her condition as a helpless subject nation, the position is further complicated and made worse by the manipulation of her resources in men and things so as to subserve the interests and purposes of others to the utter neglect of her own proper and legitimate interests.

The 'New Age' proposes to serve as a means of expression for those advanced thoughts in political, economic and social problems of India and the world that have not as yet received adequate attention or recognition in this country.

While uncompromisingly advocating the cause of complete national independence for India, it holds that political independence has no meaning for the masses of people without economic and social freedom and reconstruction. It will steer clear of the fallacy that economic and social reconstruction of society can wait till after the achievement of national independence. An examination of the real factors governing the life of the nation at the present day will easily reveal that without the one the other cannot be achieved and that the clogs in the wheel of even national independence are to be found in certain economic and social factors that are the conscious or unconscious bulwarks of oppressive imperialism.

As such the 'New Age' seeks to chalk out a new path for service and in the discharge of its duties it will never flag. Having as pointers, truth, courage and justice, it will advance the cause of the down-trodden and the oppressed without fear or favour.

As a staunch exponent of the new spirit, it will serve as the vanguard of marching times and progressive society, and in the great battle against the systematised wrongs in human relationship, it will strive its best to help those who are engaged in the creation of a new social order, relentlessly fighting against a world which is blindly hostile to healthy progress and establishing on its ruins, the purely sublimated brotherhood and equality of mankind.

KARL MARX

HIS SIGNIFICANCE TO OUR EPOCH

By
V. K. Narasimhan

Nothing is a more tragic commentary on the pitiable narrowness and utter sterility and unreality of the present system of education in India than the fact that only an infinitesimally small number of the many thousands that are thrown out of our universities like motor cars from a Ford workshop manage to emerge out of their colleges with at least a vague knowledge of the most advanced and revolutionary ideas of our time. And even this small number acquire this knowledge in spite of the universities rather than as a result of them. That this is due to a deliberate attempt to keep the younger generation in everlasting ignorance of such dynamic and "dangerous" ideas as are implied in socialist and communistic principles of social reconstruction is patent enough. That the students as well as the professors are equally to blame is also plain. For it is impossible for any government to raise any unassailable tariff-wall against the import of ideas; especially under modern conditions of transmission of intelligence and ideas. It appears, therefore, that this ignorance of and indifference to, modern ideas and movements is due partly to a defect in the national character. Is it likely that Pushkin's characterisation of the Russian people as " incurious " is no less true of the Indian people ?

A definite improvement in this regard is noticeable, however, in recent years. The rapid deterioration in the economic position of the masses and of the majority of the middle class in this country, the gigantic growth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the rise of socialist and communist parties in almost every part of the world, including India, the continuous propaganda in the bourgeois press against radical ideas and against the U. S. S. R., and the growing mass of literature relating to these, have all contributed in no small measure to the stirring up of the huge lethargic python of intellectual India. It cannot be denied that to-day an increasing number of people in this country are taking, if not an active, at any rate, a theoretical interest in the great social movements and philopsohies of our times.

For the understanding of these movements, as also for the understanding of the complicated processes of modern social life, one of the surest keys is furnished by Karl Marx. I would even venture to assert that to the man who has not equipped himself with the doctrines of Karl Marx our world and its conflicting and complex social phenomena will remain an inexplicable enigma and a confused tangle.

The revolt of the under-dog and his refusal to accept his inferior, economic and social position as being in anyway natural or inevitable is the most outstanding and challenging fact of our epoch. This revolt and this refusal have found their most extreme expression in the growth of the socialist movement. Karl Marx is, in a very real sense, the father of this movement.

There is no socialist party to-day which does not derive its inspiration and its theoretical basis from the ideas of Karl Marx. It is true that outside communist parties, there is a continuous attempt to " revise Marx," mainly in the direction of blunting the revolutionary edge of his doctrines. But even the worst revisionists or the most " reformist " socialist parties have not gone to the extent of repudiating Marx wholesale. They still profess to base the foundations of their activities on the fundamental concepts of Marx.

The essential significance, therefore, of Marx consists in this that he is the ideological parent and inspirer of the greatest movement of our time.

" A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism," wrote Marx in his challenging "Manifesto" issued in 1847. And to-day the spectre has by no means been laid low. On the contrary, it has grown into a menacing colossus bestriding the whole world. "Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution! The workers have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world to win! Proletarians of all countries, unite !" Thus concluded the great " Manifesto ". Its

audacity, boldness and challenge were unparalleled, in spite of the fact that the authority and strength behind it, measured in terms of the numbers supporting it, were negligible. But it was not the quiet, yet-unawakened voice of the present which was speaking through the "Manifesto"; it was, rather, the whole accumulated voice of future generations of proletarians which was, prophetically as it were, uttering its war-cry and raising the banner of revolt many, many decades earlier.

Marx was not indeed the first to realise that poverty, exploitation and their concomitant tragedies were not inevitable and that they could be done away with by adjustments in the social order. His uniqueness lay in quite a different thing. He was the first to point out that the very movement of the social process was in a direction, the ultimate and only possible goal of which was the realisation of a society where exploitation would not exist, where, in his own words, there would be no classes, hence no exploitation and no state. His vision of a communistic order was not the dream of a visionary. It was no doubt an ideal. But it was an ideal the outlines of which were derived fromthe logic of history, as Marx understood it. Marx's interpretation of history might be and has been challenged. Still, the fact remains that the course of world-events since Marx elaborated his ideas has tended to confirm rather than disprove the fundamental correctness of his view of history. The rise of socialist and communist parties everywhere and the existence of a proletarian state covering one-sixth of the earth's habitable area and based avowedly on the principles of Karl Marx are all evidences, if any such evidences are necessary at all, to the quasi-prophetic insight of Marx into the course of history.

The ideas of Marx, therefore, have a vital significance for us to-day. The struggles between classes and between nations, the innumerable social movements, the economic and political changes taking place all over the world—if we are to understand all these as integral parts of a historical movement with a logic of its own, and not as chaotic, inexplicable phenomena—we have to go to Karl Marx for illumination and guidance. Not that Karl Marx has in store for us ready-made solutions for all problems. But that he furnishes a method, a way of approach to them, a techinque of studying social problems, which the more we master and make it our own the better will we be able to understand and solve our problems. Karl Marx's unique and almost indispensable value to us in this respect is due to the fact that his philosophy is based on history and the dynamics of the social process. Did he not say in his own characteristic assertive way: "Hitherto philosophers have only been trying to explain the world; *Our duty is to change it.?*"

(*To be continued*)

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HITLER AND HIS TIMES

By N. S. Srinivasa Iyer

Few political phenomena are more interesting and more difficult to understand than the growth of dictatorships in European soil. The Treaty of Versailles which was ostensibly designed to bring about a settlement in accordance with the principle of self-determination in reality gave rise to difficulties of a formidable character whose solution is not likely to be found without further embroiling the world in an even more fierce war than the one we had between the years 1914 and 1918. In Germany in particular, the rise of Herr Hitler to power and the methods adopted for the purpose of consolidating the Nazi regime require an impartial investigation to enable a correct perspective to be formed of the events in Germany. That a Napoleon should arise promising to bring vanquished Germany into power again and undo the wrongs which the Treaty of Versailles had inflicted upon her is not altogether surprising. But it remains to be seen how far Herr Hitler is justified in playing the role which he has taken on himself and whether the forces he has let loose are calculated either to consolidate German national interests or subserve the well-being of Europe.

It is interesting to note that Hitler was not originally brought up in Germany. In Lambach in Austria where the Hitler family lived, the Hitlers were treated like foreigners. It is not easy to secure accurate information regarding the earlylife of Hitler and there seems to be some force in the suggestion that Hitler was ashamed of his origin. Suffice it to say that in his 14th year Hitler's father died and Hitler himself went to Vienna for the purpose of making a living. Here he seems to have imbibed the prejudice against the Jews which has led to a persecution as cruel and vindictive as any that has occurred in the annals of Mediaeval Europe. "I left Vienna" declared Hitler, when he was charged with treason, "a convinced Anti-Semite, a mortal enemy of the Marxian *weltanschaung* and a Pan-German". About 2 years before the War of 1914 Hitler left Vienna for Munich. The reasons for this action are shrouded in mystery. Hitler however has attempted to explain it on the ground that he was aware that the defeats of Austria would be on the soil of Germany.

Hitler seems to have been allowed to join a Bavarian Regiment as a volunteer. Hitler's achievements during the war appear to have been of a very inconspicuous character, but apparently he discharged his duties as a private soldier as well as anybody else. Hitler himself has tried to throw a halo of romance over his war-work by declaring that he tried "to drown his cowardice and finally courage won the day". Happiness and exhilaration had yielded to a calm and keen sense of duty. In October 1918 Hitler was one of the victims of a gas attack started by the British in which he was wounded and he was taken to the hospital in an almost blinded condition. Here he got information about the flight of Kaiser to Holland, the capitulation of Germany and the desertion of the army and the navy. Hitler has recorded that when he heard of the downfall of his country, he relieved his feelings by a bout of sobbing.

After the Treaty of Versailles was concluded, its repercussions on Germany were of a very serious character. In Bavaria where Hitler was, it seems to have been assumed that the Jews were in some way to blame for a Treaty which was so hard on the German nation. In Bavaria a new political Party was started which impartially denounced the Jews and socialists alike.

Hitler became a member of the German Labour Party of which Herr Harer was the head. This party subsequently became a German National Socialist Labour Party, of which Hitler became the head. The Party, humble in its beginnings, later on developed into a live organisation. It appealed to the mass mind and its flag was the red flag with a white circle decorated with the symbol Swastika. This symbol is said to stand for national purity. All discontented persons particulary the soldiers and officers on their return from the front finding that there was no place for them in the civilised life of the community rallied round this flag. About 1920, Hitler put forward something like a programme. It consisted of 25 points. The leaders of the party undertook even at the risk of their own lives to work unceasingly for carrying out all the points of the programme. They further reinforced themselves by the declaration that there must be no tampering with the basis and fundamental conceptions of this programme. In the economic downfall of Germany the terrible inflation of the currency and the losses increasingly incurred by the reparations gave a powerful momentum to the party. What a great demonstration there was in February 1921 in Munich? It was declared blatantly that the 60 million Germans would tell the Government clearly that whoever negotiated with the enemies would be overthrown. Finally Hitler announced that on 3rd November 1923, the 5th anniversary of the treaty, a new Government would be proclaimed altogether. The new Government was proclaimed; but Hitler and his colleagues were ultimately arrested and charged with high treason. After serving a short sentence, Hitler came out of jail; but he found himself stranded on the political shore. A new party had taken possession of the field and Germany had turned towards America for a solution of her difficulties. But this proved to be a short lived phase. America had received a severe economic set back and this enabled the Nazi movement to have a new and fresh lease of life. From 1926 up to 1930 there was a record of steady progress. The municipalities of Prusssia, Bavaria, Saxony and Hesse were in Nazi hands. Dr. Wilhem Frick a colleague of Hitler and one who had stood by him at Munich took office as Minister of the Interior. Nazi Mayors were being elected by some provincial towns.

(*To be continued*)

The Unauthorised News-Sheet

By V. K. N.

It was 7 p. m. and the train was about to start. It was very dark without and the sky was threatening rain. The passengers in the carriage, saving one or two, evinced no anxiety to sleep and were talking endlessly on. A motley group had gathered round an old man and was eagerly listening to what he was saying. Not exactly listening—for the man was an old Guzerati and his listeners were Andhras. One of them, who apparently had a smattering of Hindi, was translating the old man's words to them. They were discussing politics. Something dangerous in these days ! Their talks turned towards the burning problem of Harijan uplift ? The Telugus were anxious to know how the Harijans were being treated in the North. Naturally, frequent mention of Gandhiji's name was made with a sincere feeling of reverence and wonder.

" An old Gujerati and Andhras "

The train was about to start. It was now moving. Just than a person boarded our carriage. He was looking uncouth and emaciated, his hair unkempt and his face unshaven perhaps for many months. He was clad in Khadi and his clothes were very dirty—Khaddar alone is capable of standing so much dirt. He had a bundle of red leaflets in his hand and as the train was picking up speed he began to distribute them to the passengers in the carriage. Silently he did his work. He spoke not a word, nor betrayed the slightest emotion. He did the whole thing very mechanically. He approached each passenger who was awake and politely handed a bill out of the bundle. He neared a passenger who was sleeping soundly. All on a sudden the latter got up as if from a startled dream. What force suddenly impelled him into the realm of consciousness remains unaccountable to this day. With sleepy eyes he scanned the handbill placed in his hands by that frail creature. He rubbed his eyes, raised his face towards the distributor of the leaflets and surveyed him head to foot. " I see," he exclaimed, and instantly caught hold of his hand. He had decided what to do with the Khadi-clad fellow! He immediately placed him under arrest. The awakened sleeper was a constable in mufti !

It was raining cats and dogs outside. All the shutters had been lowered. It was stifling within and the passengers switched on their talk to other themes, surprised at the rather strange conduct of the policeman. However, remembering, that during these troublous times, prudence was the better part of valour, they preferred to remain silent. Perhaps some of them fancied that he had been arrested for travelling without a ticket. Few imagined at that time that the constable had arrested the person taking him for a "Congresswallah" distributing "Unauthorised News-Sheets" to passengers in running trains.

* * *

The train steamed into the Central Station. The passengers were getting out of the carriages with their samans with a good deal of needless hurry and noise. The policeman also got down with his charge, his arm holding the other's in a vice-like grip. He had already seized and secured the bundle of leaflets in a capacious pouch of his Khaki Coat. His grip on the man's arm was firm indeed and the latter as if, not new to such handling, followed him meekly. There was nothing else for him to do.

The policeman was now directing his steps towards the Egmore lock-up. It was drizzling slightly and there was little sign of life on the tar-paved road, which was glittering with the reflections of the myriad wayside lamps.

The constable, as he was trudging on, fell into a reverie. Little did he dream when he set out from his native home that he would meet with such a remarkable piece of good luck. What great consequences might not follow from this little discovery? In those days the capture of thieves was of little significance. Only the rounding up of undesirable politicals was valued in the Department. And now, God seemed to have made up his mind to raise him once and for ever, from his degradation as a moffusil constable on Rs. 15-8-0. Were it not so, how could one account for the fact that just when the 'Congress volunteer' had neared him he was providentially shaken from his deep slumber? A minute's delay and the bird would have flown, and his life of dreadful drudgery alone would have remained. But now Dame Fortune was smiling on him. They say that chances come rarely in life and if advantage is not taken of them one has to continue rotting for the rest of one's life. And the chance of his life had come! He would prepare an infallible report and would mention therein that the volunteer unlike other Congressmen made furious efforts at escape and was kept under control only with very great difficulty. He would not forget to mention that the volunteer cried aloud all along the way "Bande Mataram." "Gandhi Mahatma ki Jai," "Down With British Imperialism," "Inquilab Zindabad" and the like, countless times. And then, what would happen to himself? Surely, many things! He might be given a handsome reward for having arrested so smartly such a desperate character. He might get a direct lift into the C.I.D. It is there alone that great careers in the Police Departments lie now-a-days. It is the most coveted and dreaded department. Mere average intelligence is enough for one to make both his mark and his pile there. Anyway, it would be far better than tramping the streets in a moffusil place with no hope of betterment. In the C.I.D. the prospects are boundless, especially in these days of ceaseless and widespread political agitation.

"Hurrah! My misery is at an end! My boy who had to be torn away from the school while yet in the First Form for want of money, shall have plenty of it henceforth. He must become a better man than I am........." And so on, poor CT.........built his aerial castles unhampered by any extraneous thought till he reached the Egmore (F-2)Station.

He strode into the station imperiously before his compeers of the City Police. The prison Cell was unbarred and the "congress volunteer" was thrust in without much ceremony. And protest there was none. His face wore the expression of unique dulness and lethargy. There was no emotion, no sign of life on that visage—not even of surprise. He had followed meekly and obeyed every one of the policeman's orders except that he had steadfastly refrained from answering any one of his queries.

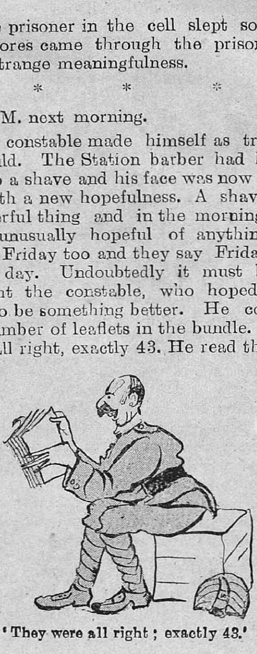
After carefully locking the cell, our friend the constable began to write his report. And he wrote on till the night wore into dawn. Not a wink of sleep had he that night. What with writing the report and watching the cell and running in the footsteps of old Alnaschar, he could little afford to give rest to his wearied limbs and agitated mind.

The prisoner in the cell slept soundly. His snores came through the prison bars with strange meaningfulness.

* * *

6 A.M. next morning.

The constable made himself as trim as he could. The Station barber had helped him to a shave and his face was now beaming with a new hopefulness. A shave is a wonderful thing and in the mornings one feels unusually hopeful of anything. It was a Friday too and they say Friday is a lucky day. Undoubtedly it must be so, thought the constable, who hoped very soon to be something better. He counted the number of leaflets in the bundle. They were all right, exactly 43. He read through



'They were all right; exactly 43.'

the report again. Oh! Yes, it was splendidly written; the very writing would impress the Sub-Inspector. With the report in one pocket and the bundle in another he left the station with a palpitating heart. He was feeling himself a big "swell" already as he proceeded to the Office of the Commissioner of Police, full of hope, with not a single thorn in all that rosy picture of what lay in store for him. He felt like one who had suddenly discovered the Philosopher's Stone and was lost in wonderment at what all it had to offer him.

* * *

" Good Morning Sir," he saluted the Sub-Inspector, in the customary Police way and the exultation and pride with which these words were uttered were only too evident in his demeanour.

"What is the matter ? any capture ? What has brought you so early and in such a fashion ?" queried the Officer.

" Yes, Sir !" he replied with a beaming face, " This bundle and this report will explain everything. I have left that Congress volunteer in the F- 2 lock-up, Sir. Had a lot of trouble with him, Sir. Not one of the usual Satyagraha type Sir—a rather turbulent creature, Sir, but, he is now safe Sir !"

"Look here, what is your number ?"

"Fifteen Twenty-three Sir."

"Fifteen twenty three ! You leave the bundle and the report on the table. I will go through them by and by. Meanwhile you go and fetch the 'Congress volunteer'. Let me have a look at him, and if he is very young I will let him off with a warning !"

" No Sir, he is not young Sir. He will be over thirty, Sir, and a rather troublesome person, Sir," the constable put in, in haste and with an undisguised feeling of apprehension.

" Whatever that may be, you go and get him at once. Now pack off !"

Undaunted by this unexpected rebuff the constable left the office as buoyant as ever. His thoughts were out-distancing his legs.

2

A few minutes later the Sub Inspector began to read the Report so wonderfully written and his face was beaming with evident satisfaction. "So, the moffusil chaps are not so bad after all ; and this feller has done something really smart !" muttered the S. I. audibly. He then looked at the leaflet attached to the Report and immediately burst into a peal of laughter. There must have been some mistake, he thought, and examined the bundle. Now he could not control himself and broke into explosive laughter. There was, however, sympathy in that laughter; for, "live and let live" is the policy, which enables the members of a bureaucracy to cover a multitude of sins, including corruption and ignorance.

The constable returned soon after with his smart "catch." The Officer beckoned him to his side with one corner of his mouth lifted higher than the other giving his smile the appearance of a sneer.

"Eh, Fifteen Twenty three, do you know Telugu ?"

" No Sir", was the prompt reply.

"The volunteer " was next ushered into his august presence and to all the interrogations of the Inspector he replied with a "Ba...Ba...Ba", his eyes turned towards the S.I., stupidly—those dull lifeless eyes.

"Now, constable, do you see whom you have arrested ? He is a beggar deaf and dumb !"

The constable was struck all into a heap. In the confused state of disappointment, chagrin, anger and misery, he felt almost lost for a moment. A minute ago he was conscious only of unbounded hope, but now he was overtaken with a sense of horrid shame and disappointment. Was it the language that had played this foul trick on him or was it those dirty khadi clothes that the "beggar" wore ?

The Sub Inspector turned to the vagrant who stood stupidly staring at him with his bleared eyes. A chord somewhere in his inside was struck. He took a two anna piece from his pocket and stretching his arm towards the deaf and dumb beggar, said, "Here, take this two anna piece and get away. How did you enjoy your night in the lock-up ? Fine place for sleep! Eh? ...Ha!...Ha...'Ha..." and he laughed hear-

tily again. Never in his life had he come across such a comedy of errors.

'Ha, Ha, he laughed heartily again.'

He next addressed the policeman who was now looking very idiotic. The tables had so suddenly turned against him and so ridiculously too that he was bit to the quick. He heard indistinctly the S. I. saying "Look here; Fifteen Twenty three, don't worry yourself. You just couldn't help it. That's all. Don't show your report to any one. You have been rather too intelligent for the Police. Better luck next time !" and he waved the constable off.

The police constable came out of the Commissioner's Office for the second time in the day—a sadder and a wiser man !

THE SITUATION IN AUSTRIA

DR. DOLLFUSS

The first question asked whenever Austria is discussed is what mood prevails amongst the population. Naturally great care must be taken in forming judgments based on brief investigation. According to observations we made on the spot and statements of entirely trustworthy comrades whose work brings them into touch with the public all day, the answer may be said to be favourable to us.

Apart from socialist conviction, a number of other factors contribute to this mood: such as deep resentment at the pomp with which the soldiers, policemen and Heimwehr men who fell on the Government's side were buried, while nothing was heard of the fallen Schutzbundler (Labour Defence Corps); the arrest of doctors who attended to wounded Schutzbundler; and the obvious lies of the Government about the flight of the leaders, while everybody knows that most of them are in jail and that Deutsch

By Edo Fimmen.

and Bauer took part in the fighting and made an escape when the battle was definitely lost. The fight put up by the Schutzbund aroused profound admiration and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Socialist Party. Nor is it forgotten that the military commanders refused to let the women and children leave the tenements "because the men would never surrender". Also a big factor is that the Heimwehr men now prominent in the streets of Vienna are mostly of a repellent type, whereas the splendid workman types of the Schutzbundler arouse sympathy.

Characteristic of the mood is also the fact that very few of the Fatherland badges are seen in the streets. Even the children who must wear the badge during school hours take it off when they get into the streets. Flag-flying is practically confined to the official buildings.

The Dollfuss Government is striving by moral pressure and enticements to win over the workers to its side. Since the defeat the position of those of our people still in employment has become exceedingly precarious. For some time past already the people employed under relief work programmes were 80% of the elements favourable to the Government. The Heimwehr are now demanding a purging of all previous undertakings and the appointment of their followers. They also insist that the 600,000 municipal dwellings shall in future be inhabited by non-Socialists only. It may also be mentioned that at present the Christian unions are functioning as employment exchanges.

For the rest the Government and its henchmen are trying to persuade the workers that their rights and interests will be safeguarded even after the Party and the Unions are dissolved. This is inculcated into the workers by radio, posters, and handbills which are thrown down from aeroplanes.

The Christian unions, meanwhile, are busily canvassing for support amongst the members of the dissolved free unions, promising continuance of the existing collective agreements, maintenance of the conditions of employment in the municipal undertakings, etc. They have rivals in the Heimwehr and Nazi (independent) 'unions' whose activity, however, is far less than that of the Christian Trade Union Centre.

As in their unbelievable hatred of our movement the possessing class will demand of the Government drastic measures against the "privileged" position of the municipal and other workers, conflicts will be inevitable. These classes have strongly backed Dollfuss and will now present the bill. In private undertakings there is already, notwithstanding all the Government's fine promises, a strong drive for reducing working conditions. Actual cases are cited. The collective agreement of the wood

workers, for instance, fixed the wages of certain groups at 1.30 schillings an hour, but latterly these workers were simply informed that in future they would get O. 80 schillings an hour.

The Government also proclaims that it will provide for the families of the fallen and executed Schutzbundler. This "charity" of course, is only prompted by its advertising value. It is even frankly said that in this way "the misled supporters of the Socialists must be won back for the Church and the present regime." Cases have already occurred where widows of Schutzbundler unhesitatingly rejected such "help."

In order to mislead the workers the Government issues the former Socialist newspapers with duly adapted contents. *Das kleine Blatt*, for instance, a paper of the Socialist Party formerly appearing in Vienna in an issue of 350,000 copies, is further published in exactly the same make-up. The same applies to a number of provincial papers of the Party.

The Situation

Materially the defeat is complete. All the prominent men of the Party and the Unions, including nearly all the Members of Parliament, are in prison. And further arrests take place daily. Even the 73—year—old ex-Secretary of the Trade Union Centre, Hueber, was summoned for an interrogation without any reasons being given. The 71-year veteran of the railwaymen's movement, Tomschik, has also been arrested and is badly treated. All the chief military leaders of the Schutzbund were arrested before the fighting began. According to the latest reports, the number of arrested Schutzbundler is about 2,000.

The number of fallen Schutzbundler has not been made known. Many Schutzbundler are still in hiding. Of those attached to the Floridsdorf tram depot, 4 were killed, 60 arrested after the fight, 3 hanged, 1 sentenced to imprisonment for life, 1 to 15 years' imprisonment, and 3 have been committed for trial by the ordinary courts. Stories are told among the workers of the brave attitude of the prisoners towards their judges, by which even opponents are impressed. In the case of the railwaymen one execution is known of. Others must have been hanged and otherwise punished, but details are lacking.

The property of the Party and the Unions has been seized, the total value falling into the hands of the Government being estimated at 100,000,000 schillings. (But many of the buildings are owned by foreigners.)

All payments, including those of a personal character, have been suspended provisionally for six months, but it is expected that this embargo will not be maintained for the whole period. The Government has already announced that the funds of the benefit schemes will be used for their original purpose, probably through the intermediary of the Christian Unions, who will also get the other funds of our organizations.

Particulars of the fight

The armed resistance as the last resort in defence of democracy was magnificently prepared, but the carrying into practice failed. In some way or other the Government obtained possession of parts of the plans, which enabled it to arrest the principal leaders at the decisive moment, to seize several men who krew where arms were stored, and to prevent the concentration of the Schutzbund forces in Vienna. The last fact explains why the fighting was almost entirely confined to the tenement buildings. That was not according to plan. As the Government troops had already been drawn up before the Schutzbundler had time to leave the houses with their arms, they had no alternative but to put up the strongest possible defence in the hope that in other places the carrying through of the plan would bring about a solution. Comrades in one district which formed a link between the different fighting fronts recount that at the beginning they searched day and night for the arms stores. These stores have not been found yet. The Government also took timely possession of a number of strategic points and assembling places.

The general strike was a complete failure. Only the bakers and transport workers of a few big bakeries and a number of electrical workers went on strike. The trams at first could not circulate because there was no current. Very discouraging was the fact that when the trams stopped the streets were literally flooded with motor vehicles. The railwaymen, who before ranked as the best section

of the Austrain labour movement, continued work except for those who fought in the Schutzbund. For this they earned the special thanks of the Government. The Railwaymen's Union had of late declined to a membership of 15,000 out of a total personnel of 56,000. In spite of the different adverse circumstances the attitude of the railwaymen was a great disappointment.

Perhaps the failure of the strike has to be partly attributed to the rumour that the cessation of the electric current, which had been agreed as the signal for the strike, was due to an act of sabotage of the Nazis. Certain it is, however, that heavy unemployment, fear and the special tactics of the Government had weakened the workers. Many now reproach the leaders with not having taken action earlier when the situation was more favourable. On the other hand one can understand the efforts of the leadership to find a non-violent solution and avoid the horrors of civil war.

The decision to fight was provoked by the statement of Minister Fey on 10 February that in the coming weeks there would be some thorough sweeping, and the fact that all efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement foundered on the resistance of the Fascist leaders. In the circumstances further acquiescence would have amounted to a repetition of the German events. It is felt that the existence of the Schutzbund as defence organ has weakend the masses' sense of the necessity of taking action themselves.

General outlook.

A complicated situation like the Austrain admits of no predictions. Every day may have fresh surprises in store. According to some reports, in the fight between Dollfuss and Hitler the workers wish the latter success. The reasons are hatred of Dollfuss and the hope that a victory of the Nazis would result in a war, which is regarded as the only way out from Fascism. It is feared that if an understanding is reached between the two rivals the present situation will be perpetuated.

On the whole the view is taken that the Dollfuss regime cannot act so brutally as the Hitler regime, for three reasons: (1) Socialist ideals are much stronger in Austria than in Germany, (2) the Government must reckon with attempts of the Nazis to win over the workers, (3) pressure of foreign opinion.

The possessions of the free Trade Union Centre have been largely transferred to the District Police Station. The staff of 34 persons for the time being get no pay or benefit. The same applies to the staff of the Railwaymen's Union. Comrade Konig, Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union, is a fugitive. Comrade Smeykal was arrested when the union building was occupied for offering resistance to the police. Comrades Forstner and Weigl, respectively President and Secretary of the free Transport Workers' Union, were arrested in their office at noon on 12th February.

The Austrian comrades, who naturally read nothing in the home press of the relief actions launched abroad, were deeply stirred to learn of the activities and feelings of the workers in other countries.

The Conspiracy of War-Mongers

By
A. G. Venkatachary, B.A.

International diplomacy is seething with activity. Alongside showy disarmament parleys, the munition makers are busy preparing the world for a new war. There is the "International Arms Ring" an enquiry into which, says Senator Gerald P. Nye of the Munitions Investigating committee of the U. S. A. will disclose the international intrigue among big industrialists in fomenting war scares and races in armaments instigated by a "munitions trust."

The collusion for profiteering by munition makers, bankers, traders, chemical combines and aeroplane and ship-building interests have their tentacles gripping the entire hemisphere.

The "Hands-Off" policy of Japan regarding China has its evil portent. It virtually means the proclamation by Japan of a sort of overlordship in China, which, larger by a fourth than all Europe, with a population of over 400,000,000, is the greatest potential market in the world—a market of which only the surface has so far been reached. Japan's avowed policy is to exploit "to her own advantage and at her own leisure" the colossal wealth of China. If Japan is successful this way her emigration problem would have solved itself. Her militarist enterprises have transformed Manchuria into a willing puppet state entirely under her thumb. A British weekly says, "With Manchuria as her base of operations, she now aims at doing in China what we have done in India.'

This new Japanese offensive has startled America, Great Britain and other countries who are signatories to the Nine-Power-Treaty. They are certain that if Japan is to have her way, the open-door policy rearding China would be a mere chimera.

And Japan is demanding naval parity with Britain. It is intriguing to note how British and European armament firms have arranged to supply Japan with munitions for her conquest of China. These, says the London "Daily Herald" are being manufactured in India in the hope of keeping the whole thing secret. It is stated that these armament firms are anxious to have the profit of providing Japan with munitions, not only for the conquest of China, but for the preparation of possible war with Russia, (the first shot has already been fired from a Soviet fortress) the U.S.A. or even with Great Britain. Japanese orders to British firms are said to be passed on to big Indian firms on a profit-sharing basis. Similar orders are said to have been carried out in the East by continental armament firms.

The League Commission Report on the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute confirms the belief that the "Daily Herald" disclosure could not be a mere canard. The league Commission report discloses the grim truth that American and European munition makers delight in the mutual slaughter of the youth of Paraguay and Bolivia. They care not if the flower of manhood in both the countries is destroyed. They gloat over their profits. They know it can come only from the continuation of manslaughter.

The Saudi-Yemen warfare in Arabia, over which a truce has been declared, is yet another result of the vile machinations of the "International Arms Ring," which comprises Army and Navy chiefs, bankers, politicians and even a bishop.

The ramifications of the present centre of the armament industry in Europe—Vickers-Armstrong, its directorate and shareholders are touched upon in a recent issue of "The Labour Call." The issued capital is nearly 16,000,000 and the powerful directors are Gen. Sir H.H. Lawrence, Commodore C.W. Craven, Gen. Sir J.A.N. Birch, Sir J. H. Cooper, Major Gen. D. P. Downey, Colonel Sir G. Hadcock, Sir William Jenkinson, Colonel J. B. Neilson, G. R. Taylor, F. C. Napp, and last but not least, Sir Otto Niemeyer.

"Also from the public point of view," the article continues, "some of the shareholders should provide a lively interest."

Names.		*Shares.*
Mr. Douglas Vickers	...	57,000
Lord Hailstram (Secretary of of State for War)	...	210
Rt. Hon. Sir John Gilmour (Sec. of State for Home Dept.)	...	3,066
Sir Robt. Horne M.P.	...	5,000
Rt. Rev. Ch. Carr, (Anglican Bishop of Hereford)	...	1,010
Earl of Hereford	...	40,000
Lord Joicey	...	20,000
Lord Plender	...	7,050
Lord Dulverton	...	15,000
Mr. Wardland Milne, M P.	...	3,000

Rt. Hon. Justice Horridge, Mr. Stuard Benam K.C., M.P., and Sir John Lavey R.A. are also said to hold shares. And yet our Premier does not fight shy of playing with 'Disarmament.'

The methods of the Arms-Ring are said to be silent but subtle. It is said to be ship's captains who deliver their precious cargoes and yet ask no questions. It is a story beginning in the nitrate mines of chile, touching the armament firms of Europe and finally bursting out into the carnage of war. The armament firms, it is said, await daily reports of what transpires in the sanctums of statesmen. There are special couriers, observers and secret agents whose reports are highly valued and duly priced. Brief messages in code are brought about the Austria tangle, the keen watch fulness of Russia, the frantic dismay of France, taciturnity of Italy, the intriguing designs of Nippon and the growing distrust, and the racial national and international hatred which, with some effort on the part of the war-mongers could easily be fanned to white heat and to war. Under the innocent headings of tin, iron, steel, lead, nitrate and cotton are transported guns, tanks, flame-throwers, automatic rifles and all the other weapons of mass destruction.

The Arms-race of the nations of the world is a direct result of war-mongers who foment war-scares and persuade their own countrymen to increase their armaments, primarily for self-defence but ultimately they know for what. Armament firms are said to bribe Government Officials both at home and abroad for disseminating false reports concerning the military and naval programme of other countries. Through their control of the Press they have influenced public opinion at home and abroad to endorse armament activity. The international armament ring does not stop there. They accentuate the situation by playing off one country against another. Thus is the world landed in a vortex of destruction by the conspiracy of war-mongers whose domains are limitless. If efforts at Disarmament fail, we will be face to face with a world war that might drive the 'Great war' into insignificance. For, the Armaments Race is not encouraged by Big Powers merely for defensive purposes. The struggle of the Big Powers for markets is becoming keen and as the world's markets have already been divided among themselves, the only way of expansion of markets for anyone country is by war. That explains the Japanese Manchurian campaign and her "Hands-off" policy. Thus the interests of international capital are inextricably intertwined with those of the Arms-ring. So the next war is what they call a "dead cert." It will not destroy "civilisation" as is claimed in open by war-minded statesman but ten to one it will destroy the capipalist civilisation a direct result of which are international animosity and warfare. It is only hoped that in spite of the present frantic military preparations, no imperialist nation would be so thoughtless as to launch on a militarist venture.

The Review of Reviews (London) Publishes the following ironic cry of the munition makers over their recent inactivities:

Two Songs for New Soldiers

By W. A. Rathkey

Slaughter & Co., the Armamenteers
Murder you!
Slaughter & Co., the Armamenteers
Murder you!
Slaughter & Co., the Armamenteers
Haven't had wars for fifteen years
So they want to murder you!

Oh! we don't want to kill you,
But we think you ought to die!
We haven't had a war of late,
You brave big boys, Goodbye!
So button on your tunic
And we'll provide the shell
To keep us all in clover
And blow you all to hell!

HOW I GOT MARRIED

The charm of life is marriage. All seem to be very much pleased when they hear of marriage. A girl is in ecstasies when she knows she is going to be married. A boy simply loses his head on hearing about his marriage. There is something jovial and delirious about it. What a charm in the mere imagination of it! My mother would say that I should marry. I would remonstrate with her but feel glad inwardly. My father would talk to my mother in whispers about my marriage. I would eavesdrop and chuckle in secret. I would dream of the piper and his music in a great *pandal* where I would be walking with a young damsel by my side, the purohits leading us to a swing so that we could both enjoy the rocking of the swing-board for a few minutes. I would see a

By H. D. RAJAH

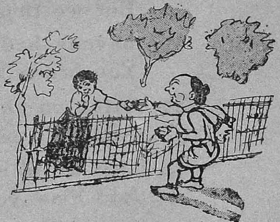
lot of ladies hovering round me and asking me a series of questions as to how I would speak to my wife or behave towards her and so on and so forth.

I should now tell you as to how I got married. Leaving my parents alone, I myself attempted to get a wife. Rukmani was aged 9 and I was 12. She was living in my next house and there was only a fence between us. When mother was busy in the kitchen and father away on his work, I had nothing to do except to think of marriage and I often came near the fence and peeped over the other house. To my joy I saw Rukmani standing and munching some eatables.

" Hi, Rukmani come here", I shouted. I did not know how to call her or please her. Probably she thought that I wanted her eatables. She rather got offended, looked at me in serious indignation and walked away defiantly. I was disappointed, came back to the kitchen and gulped a cup of water availabe there. My mother was preparing *Laddus.* I gradually worked myself up and induced her to part with a few even before her work was complete and walked out to the back-yard with them in a jovial spirit.

I again looked through the fence. Rukmani was now standing there with a book in her hand. I thought I should not call her, but I was stealing glances at her and eating the *Laddus* at the same time. But my spirit of generosity revolted against my eating them alone. Without calling Rukmani, I simply extended my hand and offered her a piece. Rukmani at a distance shook her head refusing my offer first, but gradually she was coming closer to me. We were almost face to face, but there was the fence between us.

" Take this, I like to give you !", I said.



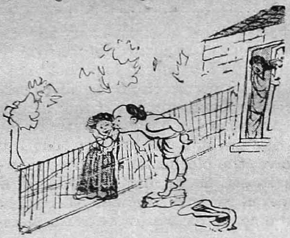
'Take this, I like to give you.'

" Very well, then give me " she extended her hand. I caught hold of her hand, placed it on my lips and then gave her two pieces of *Laddu.* She accepted, laughed and then ran away. I thought she was

going to be mine! When would I marry her?

It was the first of the month. I went to school and returned in the evening. A number of handcarts were standing in front of Rukmani's house and the servants were removing the samans into them.

I was in a frenzy. I went to the fence and shouted out to Rukmani. She was coming to me: I asked her about the strange things I saw. She said that they were going away from there to some other house. Her hand was in mine and I could reach at her face also. I bent over the fence and gave a long kiss.



"Ramachandra!" shouted my mother. I suddenly dropped her hands and looked back. My mother was standing on the steps of the kitchen and looking at me rather curiously. I took to flight but she ran after me and caught me. I never spoke to her for what she did to me on that day for four days thereafter. I never saw Rukmani also afterwards!

I was now studying in the II form. It was a mixed school. Girls and boys were studying together, but the teachers used to segregate the girl students, keep them in the front bench allowing us only to see their backs whereas they (the blighters!) used to see always their faces. I need not tell you how much disconcerting this kind of job was. Nevertheless whenever an occasion arose, we, boys, looked at some girls stealthily and enjoyed inwardly the charm of their faces. Once or twice I found the girls also doing the same.

One day after the school was over, one of my classmates with the beautiful name of Gouri was going before me and I was following her to my place as our routes from the school to our home were the same over a part of the distance. I was anxious to speak to her. But my heart was beating and I could not summon up courage to open the conversation. What if she went and reported the matter to the teacher and to my parents? I would be finished! But the primeval impulse dominated and I determined to play the game of Eros with Psyche.

"How did you do in your arithmetic examination to-day?" I asked.

She was not hostile, she had looked at me many times and she knew me!

"I did well. I think I will get very good marks" she replied with a smile.

I breathed a sigh of relief. The most anxious and trying part of the matter was over. She had talked and quite inoffensively if not cordially. Now I could proceed boldly.

"I am glad to hear it. I have also done well. But why don't you pay some more attention to your English" I ventured.

This, of course, made her colour. She was a bit weak in English, I knew.

"The teacher goes on explaining very rapidly and I find it difficult to take down all the notes" she confessed.

Well, this was a golden opportunity. I could behave now gallantly. I offered my note books for her to copy. She liked the idea, took my note books with a smile and charming side glance at me and zealously kept them with her the whole of next day and handed them back to me only the next evening while walking. Many a time I offered similar help and she was only very willing to accept it. Our friendship thickened and now I thought of making love to her.

"What a beautiful girl you are" I said one fine evening when we were walking together. But I took care to see that nobody was following us or passing through the same street. I pretended to walk at a safe distance as if I was oblivious of a sweet loving figure gracefully measuring her steps a few yards in front of me.

"Don't be stupid" she remonstrated with a laugh. But in that outward remonstrance, I could feel also a tacit approval of my remarks.

"Well Gouri, I must tell you one thing. Will you hear me ?" I asked.

"What is that ?" she queried.

"Nothing particular, I want-I want to-to kiss you!"

I did not know why I wished to kiss her. I can't even now explain why I should desire to kiss anyone at all. But I had seen my father doing it, mother doing it and I thought I should do the same. Well there you are, she also felt she should kiss me, and both of us forgot that we were going through a thoroughfare ; still we kissed each other and looked around immediately to see whether any-one observed us. Fortunately the street was deserted. I went home as a new man. Later on whenever we met in the school we stealthily ex-changed glances and even conspired to come to school a bit earlier so that we could snatch a few minutes and talk matters over. We were going to marry !

A few days afterwards, on the table of my father, I saw a marriage card inviting him, his family and friends on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Gouri with Shankaran!

I dropped the card and looked up to the stars. They were all bright and shin-ing and even appeared to be laughing at me. I had made up my mind to run to the house of Gouri and tell her that she should not marry Shankaran. She had loved me and promised to marry me and I wanted to remind her that she should keep her word. I thought that if she did not agree, I should set fire to her marriage pandal without caring a rap as to what happeped to me. No! She should certainly look to me for her happiness and she had no business to wed that fellow Shankaran.

Just then footsteps were heard and I turned to the street and saw my father coming. As soon as he entered the room, he commanded me to fetch mother from the kitchen. I ran up to her and informed her that father wanted her. She hastened to the front room with me and we both were standing when father seated in the chair said, "Everything is arranged. I have fixed up Ramachandran's marriage. Sankari's father has agreed to all our conditions." My mother smiled at me, stroked my head while I was looking to the street as to who else was coming there. Who else could it be but the inevitable purohit. I thought of Gouri. How dare I tell my parents about my love to her. I had not seen Sankari. Was she dark or fair, tall or short, well formed or deformed? Whom shall I ask? I trembled and could not utter a word. I lay on the floor and pretended to read a book all the time listening to the conversation between father, mother, and the purohit. The dowry that I was to receive, the clothes and other presents I was to get, above all the kinds of sweets prepared for the marriage, the procession in the coach drawn by two horses—all I

heard and my head reeled. What is Gouri or Sankari before these? Marriage means these things. In short I found myself married to Sankari the next week and Sankari has now made me realise that marriage means more than these.

Under-production and Under-consumption

By
J. A. Hobson

[Mr. J. A. Hobson, one of the "left wing" economists of England, is well-known for his contributions to economic science, particularly his brilliant analysis of "surplus" and "costs" as the two constituent elements of every income. He has also written a revealing book on Imperialism, in which he has analysed the economic roots of Imperialism. In the present article Mr. Hobson discusses one of the prominent features of the depression viz., "under production" and puts in a strong plea for a more equitable distribution of income].

Every observer of the world depression recognises that it is expressed in under-production, that is to say, Un-or under employment of productive agents good enough for use in ordinary times, and in under-consumption, or inability to purchase and consume the goods these employed agents could produce, at prices which would cover their money costs and yield a margin of profit. But when under-consumption leads to argue that the under-production and unemployment are due to a tendency in ordinary times to save and to invest in increased capital structure, a larger proportion of the current incomes than is wanted and can find continuous employment, most economists bred in classical tradition refuse assent. Considering that savings actually invested in most kinds of plant are to be excessive and that of the diminished volume of current savings during depression, a larger share than usual stands invested in bank deposits, this refusal to admit the possibility or the fact of over saving arouses some intellectual curiosity.

One or other of two assumption appears to be responsible for this stubborn attitude. The first is that no limit does or can exist for the proportion of the general income that can usefully be saved and put into capital, and that any apparent breach of this rule is due to misapplication of savings among the various forms of investment, or else to some special monetary trouble paralysing confidence. The second assumption is that the mechanism of prices works with sufficient accuracy and efficiency to maintain economically right proportion between spending, saving and investment.

The first assumption is, I think, a survival of the belief, quite warrantable during most of the last century (when economic science was in the making) that any individual, any group, any nation, could save and invest profitably any proportion of its income it chose, provided that an adequate outside market existed for the surplus goods which represented its saving. 'But now that a large part of the world has taken on the capitalist machine production that was once confined to a few Western countries, the difficulty of finding remunerative markets for our surplus products is glaringly apparent. Though anybody or any nation may save and invest any proportion of its income the economic system as a whole cannot.

But some economists refuse even this admission. Industrial plant is continually getting out of date and needs re-equipment; mines, transport and other appliances admit of illimitable extension and improvement, and the faster these processes are carried on, the better for the future consumer. Thus, the more the present abstinence the more the future jam! But this surely is a crazy miscalculation, as even the forced experiment in Soviet Russia has shown. It implies a foresight and fore knowledge that are impossible, and a consideration for the future that is inhuman. It is not possible to forecast the growth and placing of the future population, its needs and tastes and the changes in productive technique, with sufficient accuracy to justify the policy of unlimited saving and capital creation. Even as regards present re-equipment of factories there is a definite limit in the pace at which it can take place. It would not pay either the industrialist or economic society to scrap comparatively new plant in favour of slightly better plant which in its turn is likely to be outclassed in a few years' time. Proof of this limitations is seen in the refusal of industries to absorb the larger supply of cheap uninvested savings in works of re-equipment. They reckon, probably correctly, that in most instances

the reduced cost of production thus brought about (including allowance for the cost of scrapping) would not enable them to sell the enlarged output at a price that would yield a larger profit than they can get now.

The notion that it must always pay to put in the latest improvement without delay is sheer foolishness There is a proper time and place for such economics, and therefore a proper limit upon the rate of saving and investment which enables this to take place. This proper limit may not admit of close measurement and it will shift with changes in the technique of capitalism, but its existence at any given time is attested by the measure of absorption without delay of the supply of new savings in profitable investments.

The second assumption of the critics of over-saving is that the mechanism of price, commonly known as the law of supply and demand, maintains a right ratio between spending and saving. The rate of interest is the price of saving ; if lowered there will be less. This sounds plausible, even axiomatic, but it rests on a wrong analysis of the motives and opportunities that determine saving. In the first place, it is admitted on all hands that a good deal of saving takes place irrespective of the rate of interest. Though it cannot be held that the customary standard of living of any class is closely fixed, it does not vary for most well-to-do people in any lose accordance with changes in their income, In their case a rise of income from business profits, investments, or other sources will mean an increased volume of savings, irrespective of the current rate of interest, while a fall of income will mean smaller savings. The same will apply to the savings concealed in business reserves : they will not be affected in most cases by changes in the current rate of interest but will be determined by the amount of net profits in excess of the fixed interest charges and the rate of dividends which the directorate thinks desirable to pay to shareholders. But even if a good deal of saving were virtually automatic, this would not impair the validity of the price mechanism. A large amount of savings would be regulated by the rate of interest and the prospect of profits from new investments. Now, as we see, saving is not by any means identical with investment. Looking first to rate of interest for new savings, it is, I hold, not possible to find any large amount of saving amenable to the mechanism of price, i.e., varying closely with rate of interest. Even among lower incomes, where saving means a real abstinence, there is no ground for holding that a rise or fall of interest affects appreciably the aggregate of their saving. Much of their saving consists of fixed payments on houses, insurance and other provisions for future welfare, while post-office and other savings will be determined in amount far more by available surplus than by rate of interest. The aggregate supply of savings is hardly more determined by its price than is the aggregate supply of labour, though its apportionment to different fields of investment is, of course, closely controlled by the price mechanism.

The irrationality of a distribution of income which contains such a large amount of rents, surplus profits and other unearned elements is necessarily reflected in an irrational attempt to save and invest an excessive proportion of those incomes which contain this surplus. This saving, as we see, even continues where savings cannot get invested, because the capital structure has already been overbuilt. That actual over-investment has taken place is attested by unemployment of large parts of the capital structure. When the attempt of surplus incomes to spill over into savings begins during trade prosperity those savings are absorbed in the investment market and large parts of them are converted into ownership of enlarged and improved plant. During this period there is no unemployment: only a larger proportion of productive power goes into the instrumental industries and a smaller into the consumptive industries. After a short time it becomes manifest that the enlarged capital fabric could turn out increased products which could not be sold at a profit. This marks the beginning of a general depression with a reduction in the profits that form the bulk of surplus incomes and a consequent reduction in the volume of saving. But, as we see, even this reduced saving cannot without great delay pass into capital investment. Not until incomes are so reduced that a period of actual "under-saving" takes place can recovery begin. This

period of "under-saving" is accompanied by a considerable letting down of industrial and other plant and of the more durable form of consumptive goods. When this under-saving and this letting-down have gone so far as to reduce output below the level of current demand and so to raise the price-level, a "natural" recovery begins ushering in a new era of prosperity presently to be subjected to the same malady of over-saving, over-investment, depression, under-saving and under-investment. If incomes were more equally divided, or if surplus elements of income passed out of individual ownership and were annexed by the state for expenditure on social services, this recurrent disequilibrium need not take place. Since the demand for consumptive goods and services would be greatly enlarged by such a policy, more productive capital would be required, and, though the proportion of saving to spending would be reduced, the actual amount of saving (done by individuals and society) would be greater and would be less wastefully employed. A smaller proportion of saving would take place out of a total income greatly enlarged by full and regular employment of the factory of production.

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THE WORLD AT A GLANCE

Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement.

The Anglo Soviet Agreement, which was signed on February 17th contains the following nine articles :—

Article 1—provides for full reciprocal most favoured nation treatment in each country for the products of the other.

2. The "Ottawa" clause—provides for exceptions to article 1 where price levels in any class of goods affect preferences already granted on the home production of such goods.

3. The soviet Government announces its intention to use the proceeds of sales to Britain for increasing purchases here and for chartering British ships. There is no reference to herrings.

Article 4—provides that soviet trade shall have most favoured nation treatment regarding any Government Scheme for trade credits.

Article 5—gives diplomatic immunity to the Soviet Trade Representative and his two deputies and to their offices. Disputes arising out of transactions in the U. K. shall be subject to the jurisdiction of British courts.

Article 6—provides for most favoured nation treatment with regard to ships' cargoes and passengers.

Article 7—sets out that soviet imports are not entitled to Empire preferences, nor British exports to the benefit of preferences granted by the U.S.S.R. to other nations.

Article 8—extends the provisions of Article 1 to all British colonies, but not to the dominions.

Article 9—povides for ratification of the Agreement and for its denunciation at six months' notice.

German-Polish Agreement

A ten year "pact of understanding" was signed by Germany and Poland on January 26th. This means for ten years the use of force for setting disputes between the two countries is supposedly renounced. This is important, because of Germany's claim to the "Polish Corridor," when the pact implies recognition of the existing frontier. It is interesting too, in view of the recent Russo—Polish non-aggressive pact. For Germany looks to recompense Poland for the "Corridor" with the Ukraine. Of course, Poland declares that this new pact will not interfere with other existing pacts. Still, the *Times* calls the pact the "Eastern Locarno." And the "western Locarno" was directed against Russia.

The Balkan Pact

The pact of Balkan understanding was signed by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Jugoslavia on February 9th. Such a pact has been under consideration ever since the treaty between Greece and Turkey in 1930.

The pact guarantees existing frontiers and provides for mutual aid, conciliation and consultation, and sets up machinery for the settlement of Balkan problems.

Bulgarian grievences—concerning "an economic outlet on the Aegean" and concerning Bulgarian minorities in Rumania and Jugoslavia—remain, but efforts are being made to induce Bulgaria to adhere to the pact, which will be open to all the Balkan countries.

Fascism in Holland

In Holland there is grave Agricultura crisis, due to over production and restrictions on Dutch products in the principal world markets. The draining of the Zuyder Zee has intensified the crisis, condemning a race of fisherman to unemployment and beggary. Finally there is the valuta crisis. Dutch trade has its main outlets in Germany and Britain. The abandonment by Britain of the Gold Standard has caused great damage to Dutch trade, as have "frozen" credits in Germany and American competition in oil markets.

Within the economic crisis fascism has increased. The Dutch bourgeoisie are afraid that a fascist dictatorship may lead to the conquest of Holland by Germany, a very undesirable thing for a large part of Dutch capitalism. Nevertheless fascist organisations are developing, and are gaining influence amongst intellectuals, officials, workers and unemployed.

The Government, whilst prohibiting uniforms, colours and processions in general'

has permitted these to fascists, who are known as "Orange Patriots". The Government and big reactionary parties are making great efforts to create an "Orangist" patriotic feeling so as to render superfluous a new fascist party. According to a writer in *Monde* (to which French weekly we are indebted for our information on Dutch Fascism), it is quite possible that fascism may take independent shape in Holland, where fear of Hitler favours the fascisation of the regime without the creation of a fascist party.

Germany—One Big State

The Bill for reconstruction of the Reich was passed through all its stages without discussion in the course of a few minutes on January 30. It eliminates the last remnants of the independant power of the federal states. The state parliaments are abolished, the sovereign powers of the states are invested in the Reich; the state governments remain, but are placed under the authority of the central government; the governors come under the Ministry of the Interior; and the Reich government is given power to alter the state constitutions. Thus, nothing has been left of the separate states but their frontiers. The co-ordination Bills of last year which made the state governor-independent of their parliaments and personally responsible to Hitler for the co-ordination of state with Reich policy, have now been superseded by an even more centralised and unified form of organisation. In his speech to the Reichstag, Hitler claimed "tremendous" achievements in the past year, including a reduction of the number of unemployed by 2000000, a third of the total, and an increase in the national income. Neither of these claims appears to be borne out by official statistics.

Every one who wants to know the actual economic conditions of workers and peasants of the south and find solutions for their sufferings must read Prof. Ranga's Books.

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3 Economics of the Handloom Rs. 2 each.
4 Economic Conditions of Zamindari Ryots Re. 1.
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The Indian National Congress and Socialism

By

K. Santanam.

I shall not attempt in this article to discuss whether socialism is desirable in general or for this country in particular. I am convinced that without some form of it, the standard of life of the Indian masses cannot be raised and this note is meant only for those who share this conviction.

I shall also not attempt to define or elaborate my idea of socialism. It is enough to say that the goal of all socialists is the elimination of private property, the socialisation of capital and all instruments of production and the reduction of inequality of incomes within narrow limits. There is, however one danger against which I would like to utter a word of warning. Many opponents of socialism quietly assume that it must be a static state based upon some rigid regulation and proceed to demolish such a conception. It is a trap into which the advocates of socialism should not fall. Socialism is not a rest house, not even a road but a direction. Capitalism differs from country to country and the only common feature is the sanctity—this too in varying degrees in practice—that is attached to private property. Similarly, all forms of socialism will seek to inculcate the notion that wealth is the creation of social groups and must be used to give maximum happiness for the groups. But, as regards the size and nature of the groups that should own the wealth, how it should be distributed and the mutual relations of various socialistic groups will vary from place to place and nation to nation acccording to the varying needs imposed by geography, distribution of natural resources and historical development.

So then, for the purpose of the following argument, I make these two fundamental assumptions: (1) India should set her face towards the goal of socialism; (2) the actual form in which it should be realised in this country should not be determined by purely theoretical principles taken from writers who had to take for granted their special environment.

It is the teaching of Karl Marx that highly industrialised countries must be nearer socialism than the more backward countries. The emergence of Soviet Russia and the success of Nazi reaction in Germany which is the most industrialised country of Europe has forced socialists to question this teaching. I do not want to go into this question in detail but will merely state my view about it. If there were only one state or if it were completely isolated from the other states, Marx's conclusion will hold good. But, the development of world capitalism gives rise not only to class struggle in each state but to a similar struggle between the various states. The distinctions of capitalist, bourgeois and proletariat are applicable to states as well. The former two exploit the last and the proletariat of the capitalist and bourgeois states obtain advantages. This is obvious from the fact that the unemployed labourer in England or U. S. A. is better provided than the Indian or Chinese labourer working nine hours a day. It, therefore, follows that before the proletariat of the highly industrialised countries can overthrow capitalism, it should be deprived of the benefits of exploitation of the backward peoples. On the other hand, the industrially backward countries cannot hope to come up to the level of the advanced countries on the basis of capitalism. It is thus natural and inevitable that backward countries should adopt socialism sooner than the advanced countries. Soviet Russia is demonstrating that they can then make headway with astonishing rapidity.

India and China are the two countries next to Russia which have to achieve socialism or permanently remain as serf nations to the rest of the world. This feeling is fairly general among educated Indians and is daily growing. The time has come to propagate it in a conscious, deliberate and organised fashion.

Many socialist groups have been formed throughout the country but they have not yet struck fire. It is because all progressive elements owe allegiance to the Indian National Congress which is struggling for political emancipation. Socialists have therefore either to wait in comparative impotence or make the Congress their instrument. I believe the time is propi-

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tious for the latter course. The rank and file of Congressmen are definitely socialistic. Even among the top leaders of the Congress, socialism has many staunch adherents. Pandit Jawaharlal has declared his faith in an unequivocal manner. Gandhiji has not committed himself but in practice, he is a thorough going socialist and I do not expect he will put any obstacles to the growth of socialism within and without the Congress.

There is also this further advantage at the present moment. Now that Civil Disobedience has been called off, there are only two roads before the Congress. It can revert to a pre-non-cooperation position as an organ of constitutional liberalism: or It can become the vehicle of the new gospel of socialism. If the Swaraj Party had been allowed to exist, it would have slowly but surely dragged the Congress backwards to 1918. The fact that it was extinguished is the most tangible proof that the Congress will not revert to liberalism. The gospel of Satyagraha having been withdrawn from propaganda and practice, socialism is the only way by which the Congress organisations can obtain new life and vigour.

What then, shall socialists do to capture the Congress? In my view, they should concentrate on the reorganisation of the Congress Committees and get into the key positions. They may leave the elections to those who are lukewarm about socialist ideas.

Secondly, they should frame a clear and cogent programme for Congress which will take that body a further definite step towards socialism than the Karachi resolutions. The latter is the starting point from which they should start and they should not seek to force too large a gulp at a time on the Congress which is still a hetrogenous body. Ultimate issues should be reserved for the field of propaganda and no attempt should be made to divide the Congress on them.

There are three issues which I think can advantageously be pressed before the Bombay Congress. The problem of agricultural indebtedness is exercising the attention of all classes, including the Government officials. The Congress must give a bold lead. I think it should urge for scaling down the debts of small peasants and landholders by half and the taking over of the balance by the state.

The next question is that of land tenure. It is no use forgetting its magnitude and complications and pass an empty resolution embodying an ideal simplification. The Congress must declare its resolve to end the parasitical interests which suck the life blood of the agricultural workers and indicate methods by which this can be done by an evolutionary and reasonably painless process. For this purpose, I would like a Congress Agricultural Commission, full timed and paid if necessary, which will investigate and report upon the actual conditions in each province and the methods to be pursued in it.

The third question is the organisation of industrial labour. I feel that the Congress should take it up directly. It may create a labour board to organise, coordinate and control labour unions on the lines of the Parliamentary Board recently created for running the elections. But, the labour movement must be purged of its internal factions and quarrels by giving it unified direction and control under the aegis of the Congress.

A move in these three directions combined with a plan of intensive propaganda among the masses will give enough work for all socialists for some years to come.

India and Industrial Development

By

Jamnadas M. Mehta.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta Bombay, in the course of a speech stated as follows:—

If we examine the situation that has existed during the last decade we find that the field for the remunerative investments has been continuously narrowing down. Two factors have brought about this state of things, and they correspond more or less to the terms of office of the last two Finance Members of the Government of India. During Sir Basil Blackett's tenure investment was becoming already difficult on account of large and continued contractions of currency and a high bank rate. India having to pay abroad nearly fifty crores of rupees by way of interest and home charges, we have got to be an exporting country on a large scale if we are to pay our way; but when the volume of currency was vigorously contracted exports became difficult and industries were depressed. During the five years between 1923 and 1928 savings and surplus funds flowed mostly into Government Securities and Treasury Bills. Industrial investments stagnated. During the second period which was approximately identical with Sir George Schuster's Finance Membership the first tendency continued; but another supervened and aggravated the existing difficulties. The world crisis and the catastrophical fall of prices rendered all improvement difficult and with the export of distress gold the money realised flowed into gilt-edged Securities which steadily improved. Government were able to borrow at a progressively lower rate partly because of the funds from the sale of gold and partly from the absence of other investments. This improvement in Government Securities has been taken as a rise in the credit of India. Finance Members and their admirers are apt to dwell on this point with tiresome re-iteration; and no doubt there is a verbal accuracy in such claim. But what is intended to convey by this claim is that the country has become prosperous and the credit of the people is high. Nothing could be more misleading. It cannot be too much emphasised that the credit of the Government of India and the credit of the people of India are two entirely distinct things. The improvement in the credit of the Government has not been parallel with the improvement in the credit of the people. In fact the latter recedes as the former improves and this is apparent from the simple fact that the agriculturist who forms the bulk of the population has been so hit by the high exchange, fall in prices, heavy taxation and crushing burden of indebtedness that he has been compelled to part with the few trinkets of gold that he had in order to keep going. He has been unable even then always to pay interest to his creditors or land revenue to the Government. The fall in prices, has been so great and so prolonged that the ryot has found it impossible even to meet the cost of production; and this has led to the destruction of what little credit he had. The state of industries reveals the same gloomy situation. The so-called improvement in the credit of the Government of India has thus been secured only at the expense of virtual destruction of the peoples' credit.

So much about the past and the present. I am a ssuming, although it is a risky assumption that a Federal Government of some sort will be established in India within the next few years; and that it will be more or less on the lines of the White Paper proposals. Although there is going to be an Indian Finance member responsible to an elected legislature, his position under these proposals is anomalous and his powers meagre. In all matters that really matter real powers rest elsewhere. He will have to find money for the military expenditure, and for the heavy salaries of the Civil Servants. The taxation on the masses will therefore, have to continue as before, beyond their capacity. Moreover the establishment of the Reserve Bank, as now enacted, will deprive the Government of the country of the control of monetary policy and if the past is any guide, exchange and currency will continue to be manipulated in the interests of British financial concerns. The socalled Statutory Railway Board, will mortgage the

whole transport service of the nation to the foreign Bond-holders who have invested moneys in building these Railways; on the top of it the Governor General will be in the back ground with his special powers casting a sinister shadow on the integrity and independence of the Finance member. In the name of preventing commercial discrimination our tariff policy will be controlled by alien interests. The Federal Government under the White Paper proposals therefore will be in office but not in power. The financial levers will be worked by those who do not represent this country and finance member will be in the unenviable position of an animal negotiating the meat in a dry done. In these circumstances it will be undue optimism to hope for an improvement in the financial condition of the masses. Until financial autonomy in the real sense develops on the Federal Government the new reforms will be an empty shell.

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The Peasant, The Congress and Socialism

By

Prof. N. G. Ranga.

It has become a by-word among the Anglo-Indian and British circles that the Indian peasant does not care for politics at all and that the interested politicians try now and then to get him mixed up in dangerous agitations taking advantage of his credulous nature and his many incurable grievances. They have thought, ever since Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, that if only a little is done by Government to help him, he will continue to be eternally loyal and law-abiding. But strangely enough, our rulers have so far failed to do anything in this direction so as to win either the confidence or the gratitude of our peasants. Lord Irwin's gesture of an Agricultural Commission and its poor offshoot, the Imperial Agricultural Council are about all that the Government can claim as its contribution. The various Agricultural Departments and the Indian Cotton Committee have been spending but comparatively small sums, and turning out smaller work considering the magnitude of the peasant problem. Indeed even to-day the Government or its Civil Servants have not rid themselves of the silly idea that the peasant ought not to be represented before them by any organisation or chosen nominee. Neither the Peasant's organisations nor any of the political bodies have been recognised as having the right to represent the grievances of the peasants. Hence the refusal of H. E. Sir George Stanley to see some of the representatives of the Andhra Provincial Ryots' Association in 1931 and to grant interviews to the deputations of the Ganjam and Nellore District Zamin Ryots' Associations and the promulgation of 144 against Venkatagiri conferences of 1931 and security proceedings against Venkatagiri leaders. No Governor or Viceroy has so far thought it fit to mete out the same discourteous and degrading treatment to any of the representatives of the Zamindars or the industrialists because his advisers dare not suggest to him to so insult their organisations. What the backing of a powerful organisation can achieve even for such an inarticulate section of our people as the peasants was demonstrated by the successful fight put up by the Congress against the Bombay Government's persecution of the Bardoli peasants during the Gandhi-Irwin pact in 1931. Unfortunately in no part of India had there been made any systematic and determined effort until 1920 to organise the myriod millions of our peasants who were left to depend upon their own unworldly and ultra-timid elders for the voicing of their grievances before Government Officials. The Congress had till then been concerning itself mostly with the needs of the industrialists, thanks to the fervour of Swadeshism, engendered so carefully by Bombay and Bengal leaders. It was with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi that the peasants had begun to figure a bit in the discussions of the Congress. The first Bardoli no-tax campaign, which was proposed but not actually carried out and the Pedanandipad no-tax campaign, (referred to so carefully, even after the lapse of 13 years, by the present Viceroy, had both served to bring the peasant as a force in our politics. The 1929 Bardoli no-tax campaign and its triumph and the emergence of its leader as the prospective president of the Congress have once for all established the latent capacity of the Indian peasant for sacrifice fortitude, and for constitutional as well as other agitation. Thereafter there could be no excuse for the Congress or the Government to neglect the peasant or his claim for political leadership. But neither of them had learnt much from these factors.

How else can we explain the unwarranted solicitude of the Congress towards the Zamindars expressed so clearly in its offer to them in the chart of fundamental rights to indemnify them for the loss of revenue they might incur if the rents payable by their tenants were to be lowered? The Government of India's persistent refusal to come to the rescue of our peasants during these dreadful times of depression also shows that they had not learnt any lessson from the no-tax campaigns.

Thank God, the peasants have at last begun to bestir themselves and refuse to be neglected either by the Cougress or by the Government. Although the U. P. Congressites did not like the development of a seperate peasant organisation and therefore suppressed the nascent organisations; they have had the foresight to take up the cause of the peasants themselves with the result that the Zamindars and Government have been obliged to make handsome reductions in the rents payable. This has fortunately helped those Congressmen to shed at least a little of their softness towards their local Zamindars although they could not declare themselves in favour of the abolition of the Zamindari system. But fortunately the whole situation has been altered for the better with the last release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his historic pronouncements in favour of socialism. Hence the present large scale conversion of the U. P. Congressites to the cause of socialism. The Gujerat Congress organisations carried on by themselves all the work of the peasants and more effectively too than elsewhere. But they did not go beyond their immediate requirements of the situation, or have any socialistic out-look.

The Andhra Peasant movement :—

The effort to organise the peasants independently and for mainly peasant purposes with a socialistic outlook can be said to have been made as early as 1923 in the Andhra Desa. Two years after the abortive Pedanandipad no-tax campaign, efforts were made by some of us who were convinced Socialists of the Indian type, to organise both the peasants and workers. But owing to the opposition of the Government and the indifference of the orthodox Congressmen, we could not make much headway. Until 1928 there was no uniform policy for all the various Peasants Associations in the Province and thanks to the co-operation of friends like Messrs. M. Bapineedu and B. V. Ratnam, prominent Congressmen, a provincial organisation was formed: and in 1929 when I became its president, a programme of work embracing agitation to make the Government do its duty by the peasants and for internal reform was adopted. By 1931 the organisation became powerful enough to effectively espouse the cause of the peasant and popular enough to induce the Justice Party to capture it. The resultant compromise of giving representation to all parties deprived the organisation of both vigour and public support because its non-Congress section could not go to the length of defying the Government just when the supreme need arose.

Mahatma Gandhi has demonstrated both in Champaran and Bardoli that not only the industrial workers but also peasants would have cause and necessity for resorting to direct action to obtain justice. Those of us Congressmen who have come to realise the necessity of organising the masses for such action not only against a Government but also against its allied institutions in the country when every other method has failed, set about vigorously organising the peasants in the two Godavaris and Kistna; and as many as 550 village associations with their respective Taluk and District Organisations came to be established by October 1931. The Madras Government's unjust decision to enhance the already burdensome land-revenue demand by $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent in spite of the unanimous view of the Economic Enquiry Committee (with the late Arogyasami Mudaliar, an-ex-Minister as its president) that even the then existing demand was too high, supplied us the motive-power in our work and our organisation had become so powerful that the Government imprisoned eight of us, all holding responsible positions in the Congress, long before we could think of any direct action. It was at this juncture that the Government began to frighten all those who were members of our organisations and it helped us to do the very thing which could not be done before i. e., purging the organisation of all those who did not believe in direct action whenever it became necessary, and since then we had to deal only with those who have been prepared to go the whole hog with us.

Zamin Ryot Movements.

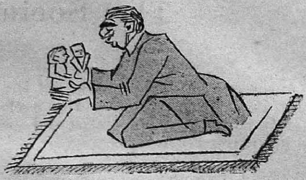
There is yet another direction in which the Andhra Peasant Movement has marked an advance. Nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cultivated land of Madras Presidency is under Zamindars who derive the colossal annual income of 230 lakhs of Rupees in return for the payment of a *peishkush* of 50 lakhs. There are more than ten millions of agriculturists who are the victmis of exploita-

tion by the Zamindars. The Zamindari Ryots Association founded by Mr R. M. Sarma in 1929 wished to improve the status of the peasants by a suitable amendment of the Estates Land Act which governs the economic relations between the Zamindars and the ryots. It is true that at that time the great majority of the Zamin ryots were too afraid of the Zamindars to think of going further and indeed even to-day after five years of vigorous propaganda, organisation and work, there are still many who simply shiver at the very thought of joining our organisation. As fortune would have it the Nellore District Ryots Conference appointed an Enquiry Committee to enquire into the grievances of the Zamin ryots of the District and as its president I took advantage of that opportunity to give publicity, almost for the first time, to the many inhuman improprieties of the Zamindari administration. Those revelations were enough to convince the leaders of the movement that unless such a system was abolished there could be no safety for the ryots and any advent of Swaraj could only mean the substitution of the British beauracracy by the brown oligarchy. So the first Provincial Zamin Ryots Conference adopted the resolution favouring the abolition of the Zamindari system through legislation.

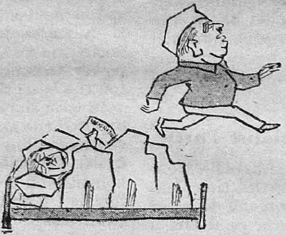
This Venkatagiri Conference of 1931 and its historic resolution, have been the prelude for the adoption by the Venkatagiri peasants of the principle of direct action and for their eventual exercise of it when the Zamindars began to persecute them.

(*To be continued*)

Mr. Satyamurti flying about the country with the pressmen after him.



Dr. Ansari doing *namaz* for the success of his party.



Dr. Alam tenders resignation of his membership in the Congress Working Committee when it was unlawful and now hastens to Ranchi to join the Council of the Swaraj Party.

Dr. B. C. Roy examines the heart of Bengal and declares that mother Bengal is alright after the delivery of the Swarajist child.

Bulabhai J. Desai presents the Swarajist child to Gandhiji who strangles it by creating the Congress Parliamentary Board.

The Socialist Conference.

On the eve of the meeting of the All India Congress Committee the socialists meet in conference at Patna and passed the following resolutions :—

" This Conference is of the opinion that the resolution passed by the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress calling upon Congressmen to boycott the legislatures should not be rescinded except by an open session of the Congress. The Conference is of the opinion that if the Congress at its next session rescinds that resolution the conduct of electoral and Parliamentary activity should be in the hands of the Congress organisation and such activities should only be in furtherance of a programme which is Socialist in action and objective."

All-India Congress Socialist Party.

" In the opinion of the All-India Congress Socialist Conference the time has come for an All-India organisation of Socialists in the Congress to be established. With this end in view it is resolved that (a) a drafting committee consisting of the following be appointed to prepare the draft programme and constitution for an All-India Congress Socialist party: Acharya Narendra Deo, President ; Jayaprakash Narayan, Secretary; Messrs. Abdul Bari, Purshottamdas Tricumdas, Masani, Sampurnanand, C. C. Banerjee and Faridul Huq Ansari as members; (b) Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan be appointed Organising Secretary of the All-India Congress Socialist Conference to organise Provincial Congress Socialist groups where they do not exist on the basis of the programme adopted by the Drafting Committee and arrange for an All-India Congress Socialist Party immediately prior to the next session of the Indian National Congress.

" This Conference sends its affectionate greetings to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and places on record its sense of appreciation of the lead given by him and his valuable services to the Socialist cause. It expresses its feeling of loss at his absence from its midst at a time when his guidance was most needed by the country.

Socialist Programme

"Wereas the preamble to the funda mental rights resolution of the Karachi Congress declares that, in order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions and whereas, in order to widen the basis of the struggle for independence and ensure that even after Swaraj comes the masses do not remain victims of economic exploitation, it is necessary that the Congress should adopt a programme that is Socialist in action and objective, the A.I.C.C. recommends to the Congress to declare as its objective a Socialistic state and, after the capture of power, to convene a Constituent Assembly (on the basis that every adult shall have a vote with the exception of those who have opposed the struggle for freedom and that representation shall be on a functional basis) for the purpose of formulating a constitution for an Indian State on the following political, social and economic principles:—

(1) Transfer of all power to the producing masses.

(2) Development of economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the State.

(3) Socialisation of the key and principal industries, for example, steel, cotton, jute, railways, shipping, mines, banks and public utilities with a view to the progressive socialisation of all instruments of production, distribution, and exchange.

(4) State monopoly of foreign trade.

(5) Organisation of co-operatives for production, distribution and credit in unsocialised sector of economic life.

(6) The elimination of princes and landlords and all other classes of exploiters.

(7) Redistribution of land to peasants.

(8) State to encourage and promote co-operative and collective farming with a view to the ultimate collectivization of all agriculture in the country.

(9) Liquidation of debts owing by peasants and workers.

(10) Adult franchise on functional basis.

"The A. I. C. C. recommends the method of organising the masses on the basis of their economic interests as the only effective method of creating the mass movement and the organisation by Congressmen of Kissan and Mazdoor Sangas and the entry into such Sanghas, where they exist for the purpose of participating in the day-to-day struggle of the masses and with a view to lead them eventually to their final goal."

Textile Workers' Strike.

"The All-India Congress Socialist Conference extends its sympathy and support to the textile strikers in Bombay in their heroic struggle against capitalist offensive against their standard of living and condemns the policy of the Government in openly taking sides against them by arresting their leaders and detaining them without charge or trial and placing restriction on their right of demonstration and police action in shooting and lathi charging the workers.

"This Conference condemns the unjustifiable firing by the police at the peaceful labourers of the E.I.R. Colliery who had gathered for the perfectly legitimate purpose of asking for the restoration of cuts made in wages."

SPARKS AND SPICES.

"Coquetish overtures from doubtful quarters" says Mr. T. C. Goswami when some non-congressmen offered co-operation to the newly reborn Swaraj Party. We doubt whether Mr. T. C. Goswami will be able to resist.

* * *

"Nothing is more unlikely than that the Swaraj Party will resort to obstruction for obstruction sake" says a Calcutta message regarding the Swaraj Party.

"No by all means no. We expect co-operation for co-operation's sake and co-operation at any cost.

* * *

"I will blow you to pieces if you take to politics" the father threatened his son. "I hope you will do it without taking to Politics" said the son.

* * *

"He would rather fight and die fighting for the country than becoming a statesman" said a prominent Swarajist in the course of a speech.

Hurrah! We hope he will do this as soon as he gets into the legislature and accepts office.

* * *

The boss to the stenographer, "If you commit such mistakes in future, I will fire you."

"I hope you have a licence for a revolver Sir," enquired the stenographer.

* * *

"Darwin has proved that man is a direct descendant of an ape" said an anthropologist.

"I did not know this till I met you" said his student.

* * *

"At the outset the local Hindi Prachara Sabha presented him an address of welcome. In replying to the address, Mr. Satyamurthi stressed the importance of Hindi as the National Language of India."

We are not informed whether the Hindi address was in English or Mr. Satyamurthi's reply was in Hindi.

* * *

"What is white paper?"

"It is a book of blank white sheets called the dummy copy produced for presentation to others for canvassing advertisements for a newly started journal."

* * *

"Sin has to go to London" says a local newspaper head line. We wonder why it should go to London at all when it has come all the world over from there.

* * *

"The poet's appeal to the government" says a big headline in a newspaper. When a poet makes an appeal which is certainly the work of an advocate, we have no reason to doubt that it will be summarily rejected.

* * *

"Have you any other conviction?" asked the Judge.

"No my lord. I am totally innocent of this offence, this is my conviction" said the prisoner at the dock.

* * *

Why are you so late today" asked the angry wife.

"Being late, I wanted to come home only after you have slept" said the husband.

* * *

A local daily adds the following letter press to a photograph of the acting Governor :—

"H. E. Sir Mahomed Usman watching the Ootacamund Gymkhana Races. The first photograph of the Acting Governor since he assumed office."

We congratulate our contemporary on having "snapped" His Excellency while engaged in a truly gubernatorial function!

* * *

"We have no doubt that we shall sweep the poles" says Dr. Ansari. Why sweep the poles alone. They can sweep the Assembly as well.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

PATNA AND AFTER

The C. D. Campaigns

Ever since the Congress at its Madras Session in 1927 adopted the ideal of complete national independence as its goal, the politics of the country had made great strides though the goal itself is still far off. Events had moved rather rapidly and culminated in the great Satyagraha campaign of 1930-33. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact appeared for a moment to be something of an achievement. All the while the Government was only forging newer and more effective weapons than before to check the utterly new and baffling warfare of Satyagraha, while managing at the same time to get Gandhiji involved in the Second abortive Round Table Conference. Scarcely did he land at Bombay on his return from the conference when he was confronted by the threatening war clouds again, leaving him and the nation no other alternative except to resume the struggle. Though the second campaign too was fought through and evoked greater response from the people than the first one, the resources of the powerful bureacracy proved to be more than a match to the people's fight and strength. The consequent ineffectiveness of the campaign with reference to the attainment of the country's objective was followed by intense searching of hearts and doubts over the further utility of Satyagraha as a fighting weapon at all. Affairs were allowed to drift for a time and another lease of life to the movement was sought to be given by Mahatmaji after his fast and release from prison by converting mass into individual Civil Disobedience. That too was played out without much appreciable effect.

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Change of Mentality

Meantime the withdrawal of congressmen from the legislatures had left the way clear for all sorts of nameless reactionaries to get into them and help the Government in the name of the country to fill the statute book with obnoxious laws of oppression and suppression stifling the economic and political life of the country. The jail returned congressmen began to think aloud and agitate for a re-orientation of congress policy in which capture of legislatures would form an important part. Along with these, another importan? change in the mentality of a considerable section of congressmen began to make itself felt. The events of the rapidly changing world and their repercussions on India and the clarification of ideas as to the real forces arrayed against the freedom of the country—all these had combined to make many a congressman seriously think of changing the ideology and methods of the nation with a socialistic outlook. Pandit Jawaharlal gave bold and outward expression to the changing mentality.

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Gandhiji accommodates

It is under these circumstances that Gandhiji began to think of accommodating to some extent the changing mood of the nation while at the same time the more vocal among the right-wing leaders of the Congress, clamouring for re-orientation of policy, met at Delhi and formulated proposals for the formation or rather revival of the Swaraj party. As Mahatmaji was the virtual dictator of the congress, his permission was sought for by the latter for a council programme and Gandhiji surprised them and the nation by suspending Civil Disobedience except in his own person and by giving his whole hearted support and sympathy to the new move. That began a new phase in the politics of the country, upsetting many a routine calculation both on the part of the Government and the people. The Government had unwittingly decided upon the dissolution of the Assembly. They had evidently built their hopes upon a possible split in the Congress between council party and no-changers in which case they would not have to fear any effective opposition from the Congress. The unexpected withdrawal of Civil Disobedience and offer of active help to the council party by Gandhiji turned the scale against the Government. Even White Hall appears to have been somewhat nervous ; and in between the frantic cries of the Gods of the White Hall to extend the life of the Assembly and the necessity of the men on the spot to keep up the prestige of the

Government without nervousness before the challenge of the Congress, the Viceroy chose to stick to his original decision to dissolve the Assembly.

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The Ranchi Proposals

On the 2nd May 1934 the Congress Swarajists met at Ranchi and resolved upon the revival of the Swaraj pa ty. Scepticism had not been wanting in the country regarding the ultimate result of any council programme even at its best; but there seems to be now a consensus of opinion that though such a programme can never be a substitute to a direct fight, it is at least capable of giving a position of vantage from which some of the minor evils can be prevented while some amount of political agitation and excitement can be promoted in the country. Apart from any want of faith in the council programme, the anomolous position of the Congress under the then hanging sword of Democles in the shape of the Government ban on most of the political organisations and the legitimate desire of logically thinking congressmen to have the proper verdict of the country on any change of policy through a regular and full session of the congress have been a source of some opposition against the Ranchi proposals being adopted by the existing All India Congress Committee. A considerable section of congressmen of the left wing who were of the socialist view legitimately felt that the governing body of the congress consisting of members elected three years ago was not representative of the present feelings of the nation and that an open session and a new committee alone would reflect its true mind.

* * *

The Parliamentary Board

In the conflict of ideas as to the extent of Congress control over any council programme the handing over of the congress machinery to the Swaraj party as a separate unit within or outside the Congress had to be abandoned in the Patna meeting of the All India Congress Committee and Gandhiji's resolution setting up a Congress Parlimentary Board to run the coming elections to the Assembly was carried by a majority. Though the text of the resolution did not satisfy some of the ardent Swarajists, the party really got far more than it bargained for. Instead of being a separate unit getting merely the permission of the Congress the party was made a part of the Congress organisation itself though in another form with full autonomy as to its programme.

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Withdrawal of C. D.

The All India Congress Committee on the motion of Dr. Ansari adopted Gandhiji's statement of the 7th April recommending the suspension of Civil Disobedience *sine die* except in his own person. While we congratulate Gandhiji and the All India Congress Committee on the wisdom of the step, we do not quite appreciate all the reasoning of the former for the step taken. When all is said and with great respect to Gandhiji, it was really an ungracious and an uncalled for reproach against all the congressmen who absolutely surrendered themselves to his leadership and many of whom abandoned their all for him and for the country. The teachings of a great guru are bound to undergo slight modifications in the application of the same by the disciples to newer facts and circumstances of life. A general who gives commands must be prepared to see his faithful subordinate officers carrying them out to the best of their understanding and ability and according to the circumstances immediately facing them. Further if an instrument or means of fight is so delicate or abstruse or intangible as even an intelligent section of the masses cannot understand or handle it properly, is not the efficacy or usefulness of the instrument itself for purposes of an essentially mass fight open to doubt ? Every individual composing the mass can never be expected to soar into the mental and moral heights of a Gandhiji. Masses and metaphysics cannot go together in a political fight.

In confining Civil Disobedience to his own person many conjectures have cropped up. It is not as purely a personal affair as many would think. It has a bearing on the politics of the country though it may not be of much immediate concern. We are sceptical of Swaraj being obtained by the efforts of any single individual however high placed he may be, and any abiding result must be the outcome of the efforts of the masses. Anyway that Civil Disobedience, Satyagraha or Non-violent Non-co-operation-whatever you may call it-

has beeen played out is only too clear. It has touched neither the heart of the rulers nor their organised forces of violence. There is no heart in them to be touched.

* * *

Success or failure relative

Notwithstanding all these, none need consider any fight as a complete failure or success as these terms can only be relative in the condition of our country. Every fight—however much it may fail to gain the real objective—leaves in its train an increased mass—consciousness, improved morale and greater courage and hope for the nation. The mass-consciousness that has been the result of the last great movement and the immense suffering involved in it cannot be under-estimated. Further the value and necessity of direct action in any fight for freedom have been clearly demonstrated. It has shown to the nation the value and effect of discipline and united action even in the face of minor differences of opinion. Incidentally it has given the country a crop of Congress leaders and workers who can be relied upon for fight and sacrifice.

* * *

Significance of Patna meeting

Civil Disobedience having been tried out as a kind of direct action, the country has to find a better substitute and at the same time the normal political life of the country has to be restored and kept up, lest the average politician should find his time hanging heavily without any occupation. Hence the justification for the rebirth of a council programme. But this time the country is disciplined enough not to have much of unedifying splits as between no-changers and pro-changers. It is a great thing and a good sign too that the value of both and their mutual vocations have been properly recognised now. It may incidentally be noted here that something of this two-fold method or multifold programme was suggested by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar some years back. It may not be worth while now to enter into the question as to who deserves the credit for ideas so long as they are acted upon somehow and at some time or other.

The Patna meeting of the All India Congress Committee is a great step and a milestone on the road to Swaraj mainly on account of the recognition in practice that many sided ought to be the activities of a subject nation in any fight for freedom, that dogmas and prejudices of individuals in favour of particular methods ought not to exclude other means altogether and that differences of opinion on methods need not necessarily stand in the way of different groups and temperaments fighting together against the common foe.

* * *

A Welcome Step

It is well that the influence and machinery of the congress were not placed at the disposal of the Swaraj party as a separate unit. When all is said, some of our leaders are not free from the fatal fascination to mix up with men and things that have never had anything to do with Congress and its fight. The glamour for men in position and their sympathy and co-operation without reference to their ideals and an unpardonable cynicism or want of necessary regard towards those who have suffered for the Congress at the hands of the bureaucracy seem still to affect some among our prominent leaders themselves and to lead to anomolies and dilution of ideals and methods. The present decision of the A.I.C.C. to take up or control the council programme through a Parliamentary Board with necessary internal autonomy is a welcome and happy step. For one thing, the least dilution or compromise of Congress ideals should not be allowed under any exigencies in approaching the voters and fighting the elections. Secondly extreme care should be devoted in the choice of candidates. Only men of proved loyalty and service to the Congress should be set up as candidates. It is better to court defeat for a Congress candidate where he has not much chance or not to put up any candidate at all than to allow men of doubtful loyalty to join the Congress and exploit its name and influence to sail easily into the councils.

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Limitations of Council work

That the present Parliamentary Board is a more homogenous body than the former Swaraj party and that its personnel and work in the councils would be far more vigorous, disciplined and helpful than before to the larger fight in future goes without saying. It behoves all whether they have faith in it or not to give

full help. Its leaders have taken part in the last fight for freedom and suffered as well. Their patriotism is unquestionable and at any rate they are much better men than others who have either kept aloof at the moment of crisis or decried the nation's struggle and the fighters. But the parlimentarians should have no illusions about themselves and their work in the councils. As Gandhiji said, the results of any council programme will never be commensurate with the labour involved in and money spent on it. Their scope is really limited. Even if all the pages of the newspapers of the country are filled with the wordy fire-works of the council members and even if dramatic scenes of walk-outs, nominal cuts and stray victories are enacted on the floor of the house they would only mean temporary discomfort to the iron -bureacracy. They may serve for some slight excitement amoug the newspaper reading public. Perhaps prevention of minor evils in the day to day administration of the country and a doubtful check upon obnoxious legislation may also be put to the credit side. The large body of the masses would still be left untouched. The real fight and the preparation for it are still outside the councils.

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March of Socialism

Thanks to the increasing clarification of ideas the real forces arrayed against the freedom of the country have been made more and more plain. That imperialism is closely allied with the native states the Zamindari and the capitalist systems of the country has become clear; and the evil effects of these are to be seen in the every day life of the nation. Public life can no more be confined to politics as the economic factors also had begun to loom large. They are so interdependent as you cannot tackle the one without touching the other. These ideas have taken shape in considerable sections of national workers in the country. They also found expression in the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Patna through the Congress Socialists. That they have not found a powerful leader to back them up to victory there, is only an accident. Perhaps if Jawaharlal had been free, the course of Congress history at Patna might have been slightly different. It is a pity that the leaders pretended to shut their eyes to the growing forces of socialism. The attempt of Dr. Ansari and his friends to give a palliative in showing up the Karachi resolution on fundamental rights as meeting the Socialist demand is not very happy or creditable. Who does not know the circumstances under which the resolution was adopted, the vaugeness that clouded it, the jumble of ideas that characterited it and the want of serious or effective sanction behind it at Karachi ?

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Communal Award and Constituent Assemby

The handling of the communal problem and the adoption of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly are not above being a mystery. We do not minimise the delicacy of the situation ; nor do we want to doubt the 'tact' and wisdom of the leaders. We cannot at the same time help remarking that any shelving of the question or postponement in tackling with it is not going to bring the solution nearer. The 'Constituent Assembly' is an important conception of the socialists with a distinct significance as to its nature, programme and sanction behind. The Socialist conception and solution of the so-called communal question or minoriy problem are also different from those of the right wing congressmen. The latter have taken the form and slogan of the 'Constituent Asssmbly' without all its implications or substance by confining its function to the consideration of two specific questions namely: the formulation of an agreed constitution as against the White Paper and a communal agreement as against the present Communal Award. How the assembly is going to be constituted is a further question which does not seem to have been considered at all. Stripped of all its borrowed glamour—is it going to be much more than an enlarged All Party Conference to draw up successive paper constitutions —only to be thrown into the shelves or played with under various interpretations, Dominion status to Independence, Independence to substance of it, then 11 points and so on ? The objective of the country is too clear to need repeated formulation.

Socialists and the future

Now the task of the Socialists in and outside the Congress is clear. The future lies in their hands. Their programme has

to be in consonance with the real objective of the nation viz., the establishment of a socialist state composing of national independence and socialistic reconstruction of the nation. Real Swaraj can mean nothing else. Anything short of it is not worth having or fighting for. The country does not want to substitute a brown bureaucracy in the place of a white or a mixed one, nor brown native rulers, zamindars or capitalists in the place of foreign exploiters. It needs no propaganda from Moscow or the 2nd or 3rd international to work out its own ideals. Nor any bogy about them need be taken into serious account. It is but the logical outcome of any modern trend of thought and of the inherent contradictions of the existing Capitalistic system.

Whether the process is to include all the horrors and sufferings of some of the western countries or will be happier in India is a matter for the future. India is not such a peculiar country as to have nothing in common with others in those problems as some would try to make out; nor her conditions are for the present a prototype of those of other countries. Any way, hectic politicians will not be improving the position a bit by crying hoarse against the advance of ideas and attempting to scare the country by raising all sorts of night-mares. The more they get excited over or fight shy of them the more will be their sad disillusionment when in spite of them the growing pressure of economic factors bursts open the flood gates of pent-up mass discontent and drives the nation inevitably to take up programmes represented by those ideas.

It is only of late—for the last one decade or so, thanks again to the dynamic force of Gandhian ideas and movement —that the country has been made to face realities and to think in terms of the masses and mass action. It is but natural that the younger generation, having been initiated into them and having faithfully followed their great leader should think of taking matters further if they can. At a stage when more than one method have to be tried for national salvation, we cannot afford to have too much of the wasting luxury of quarrelling groups and parties among nationalists themselves, one violently reviling against another so as to prevent free, honest and dispassionate exchange of thoughts and working out of ideas. So long as ideas and programmes are conceived with a mass consciousness, it behoves everybody to give them a decent chance. Of course self-seekers and careerists, blusterers and chicken-hearted politicians will be fish out of water at such a juncture in the nation's affairs. Either they must improve their ways or the country must choose once and for all between them and her true and honest men.

The socialistic minded groups have to shape their immediate and further programmes so as to suit the circumstances of the nation. In short the next session of the Congress must be full of them. As it is, the Congress is dominated by bourgeois interest and leadership and it is time it is changed in the full interests of the masses. The socialists have neither the unquestionable religious reverence to Satyagraha nor any inherent repugnance to council work. To them they are all but parts of the great fight to the extent to which they are serviceable. Much of the effective work of the socialists lies outside the councils. But they can also find in the councils a platform for the propagation of their ideas. They should not only help, for the present, such of those parliamentarians as show sympathy to their cause, in capturing the councils but also try to capture them themselves in course of time.

The Bombay Textile Mill Strike.

Ever since the general strike of 1927 and 1928 in Bombay lasting for more than 6½ months, resulting in complete victory to the workers in respect of the restoration of wage cut of 12½ per cent the mill owners of Bombay and the Government were aiming at the suppression of the growing working class consciousness and at breaking their solidarity. After the arrest and imprisonment of many prominent labour leaders in connection with the Meerut conspiracy case, the Trade Union movement slackened a bit leaving the mill owners temporarily at ease. The last great national struggle and wide propaganda for Swadeshi gave an unparallelled advantage to the mill-owners to increase their profits enormously. In those days of boom it never struck them to do anything good, by way of sharing to the least extent their profits with the workers or increase their wages. But later when

Japan began to dump her goods on India and the repressive policy of the Government helped Lancashire to re-capture her lost market, the millowners found themselves in a sorry plight of not being able to earn the usual large profits. Naturally they turned their attention to make good their loss of profit by reducing the wages of the workers. Various mills in Bombay adopted various tactics viz., reduction of wages, introduction of double shift system, rationalisation etc. The workers of Bombay again found themselves betrayed and cheated out of their legitimate share and as such decided to put up a strong fight against the capitalist offensive. Fortunately for them some of the trained labour leaders were restored to them and they in co-operation with other general labour leaders are guiding the present strike. It must be said in fairness to the workers that they were goaded on to this by the unreasonable attitude of the mill owners.

The reasonableness of the attitude of the strikers can be seen from the following demands :—

(1) No wage-cut—Restoration of all cuts effected since 1933.

(2) No rationalisation.

(3) Unemployment benefit and maternity insurance at the expense of the Government and the owners.

(4) Re-instatement of all workers.

(5) Eight hours duty for day shift and 7 hours for night.

(6) Equal wages for equal work.

(7) One months' leave with full pay.

(8) A minimum living wage of Rs. 45 per month.

(9) Recruitment of labour through workers' Committees in each mill.

(10) Full liberty for union work within the mills.

(11) Right of the mill Committee to supervise conditions of work in the mills.

(12) No victimisation of the active trade union workers and re-instatement of all victimised workers.

(13) 50 per cent reduction of house rent.

(14) Well defined regulations and fair treatment regarding leave, abolition of fin [illegible] tc.

(15) No recruitment of boys up to the age of 16.

(16) Consolidated wages.

(17) Recognition of all unions.

(18) Right to strike and picket.

(19) Right of organisation, speech and assembly.

(20) Trade union legislation and right to organise trade unions within the native states.

(21) Withdrawal of all repressive laws, anti working-class legislation, release of political prisoners, strikers and strike leaders imprisoned during the strike.

It will be seen from these demands that the workers expect to have them fulfilled by the mill owners and the government. The recent events in Bombay leading to frequent clashes between the workers and the police and the resort of the police to fire arms on more than 4 occasions have definitely, shown the unholy alliance of the Government and the millowners as against the strong attitude of the workers. Though the strike has been going on for the last two months it is a pity that there is no sign of its early settlement. We hope that the citizens of Bombay will bring pressure on the powers that be to concede the above demands of the workers and end this present impasse.

Peasants' School at Nidubrolu.

This school is the first of its kind to be organised in this country. Its students, numbering 42 (men and women) have come from various Districts, as the representatives of their various peasants' Associations and Harijan Seva Sanghs. Most of the important leaders of thought in the Andra Desh have delivered lectures on questions touching upon the peasants and workers problems. Prof. Ranga, its Principal, has succeeded in giving a definite socialist touch to the school and its course of study and the students who are already engaged in practical organisation and propaganda work in the villages have had the benefit of six weeks' intensive study about the various aspects of peasants and workers' economics. It is by such intensive study and training afforded to our propagandists and local leaders that the workers and peasants' movement can be strengthened. We therefore welcome Prof. Ranga's scheme of organising such a school for each one of our Northern Districts and two central schools one for the Circars and another for the Ceded Districts.

Foreign

Russia and the League

In European diplomatic circles the question of persuading Soviet Russia to enter the league of nations is being seriously discussed. The move is no doubt dictated by the anxiety of those countries which want to maintain the *status quo* to see that this is not in anyway altered by a resort to the argument of arms. This anxiety has been hightened further by the withdrawal of Germany from the League and the repeated militarist declarations of Hitler and Mussolini. It is believed that the entry of Soviet Russia into the League of nations at this moment will considerably strengthen the hands of those who want to make the League machinery a more effective means for the prevention of war.

Whether the Soviet will completely change its view of the League of Nations as a "League of Robber Nations" is open to doubt. It is true that on the one hand the U.S.S.R. is particularly interested in the maintenance of peace so that her internal development might proceed unhampered,on the other hand,she has shown herself to be quite capable of negotiating with capitalist countries on their own terms with little compunction of conscience. It is therefore not quite inconceivable that the Soviet union might decide to enter the League if it is fairly sure that by this act it is preventing the immediate outbreak of a war. If the soviet union decides to become a member of the League mainly with the object of stabilizing her position within the frame work of general world Imperialism, as there is a vague fear that she may, then the hour of her entry will be a sad one indeed for international socialism. If on the contrary it is with the object of carrying the campagin of exposure of imperialist frauds into the enemies' camp her entry is to be heartily welcomed.

Fascism exposed.

The Fascist decrees are giving the lie to the Fascist pretences. We had all along been told that even if Fascism had deprived the workers of their freedom of citizenship it had ensured for them at least economic security and prosperity. The advocates of Fascism have glibly talked about the "Corporative State" as the most desirable *via media* between capitalism and communism, as though the existence on paper of an involved scheme of corporations meant anything more than a camouflage to hide the naked realities of capitalism. Only a few weeks ago Signor Mussolini announced that the Corporative State would be inaugurated on July 1st, but this formal inauguration it is apparent, will mean only further concentration of power in the hands of the Fascist grand council and of Mussolini. It will mean no fundamental change in the conditions in which the mass of Italians have been living under Fascism. And these have been terribly deteriorating during the last twelve years of the Fascist regime. The huge pretence that has been kept up so long by bribing the foreign press cannot be continued any longer. The latest figures available tell their own tale. In 1922, the year Mussolini seized power, the monthly average of bankruptcies was 321. In 1932 the figure had risen to 2003. Forced sales of property for non-payment of rates which numbered 1357 in the earlier year numbered 8190 in 1931. Crimes against property increased from 256395 in 1931 to 304 909 in 1932. Most of these offences we are told were petty pilfering often of food caused by extreme poverty. The latest decree signed by Mussolini a few weeks ago strips bear Fascism of all its fraudulent claims and exposes the grim economic reality. By this decree drastic cuts, graded from 6% to 20%, in the salaries of the employees of the state, of state controlled institutions, and of municipalities, have been effected. The cuts, we learn, have been dictated by the bankers who are alarmed at the depletion of the gold reserve and are determined at whatever cost to maintain the gold standard. It is however reported that even in spite of these cuts there will be a deficit of 64 million pounds by the end of June. Private employers who had been only too anxious for an opportunity are sure to follow the example set by the Government, or go further. There are still 1,056,000 unemployed out of 4000000 insured workers and it is estimated that 30% of the remainder are on short time. Such are the achievements of Fascism! The claim that Fascism has finally solved all social conflicts, becomes in the light of these facts, extremely pitiful. It is the lost desperate attempt of the bankers and

the capitalists to mantain their power by any means which Fascism represents. It can by no stretch of reasoning be called a "Revolution." For Fascism is pursuing, in the interests of the bankers, just those methods which the capitalist countries are adopting to win back "prosperity" by impoverishing the masses. The latest decree introducing the wage-cuts reveals Fascism in all its ugliness and shows what an abominable thing it must be for the mass of Italians smarting under its yoke.

Will Mars be Considerate ?

There is one man in Europe to-day whose plight is not only unenviable but also unique. He is Trotsky. No country in the world wants him. Neither Boleshevik Russia nor Bourgeois France dare cherish him. Having been expelled from France Trotsky has just taken refuge in Switzerland—One does not know how long he would be allowed to remain there. No sooner did France give him notice to quit than Britain and the Irish Free State hastened to inform him that their doors too were closed against him. Even the present asylum Trotky has found in Switzerland is obviously under the sufferance of the Swiss Government, and he is no doubt subject to various restrictions on his activities. It is an intolerable experience for anyone to find himself an unwelcome visitor to every country. Both capitalist "Democracy" and proletarian "Dictatorship" appear to be ugly caricatures of freedom and liberty looked at from the point of view of their treatment of this communist revolutionary. In the present predicament of "ex-comrade" Trotsky there is one thing which—if the planets that are said to preside over his fate are in a mood to take up —will be the best way out of the difficulty. Next time when M. Piccard makes his ascent into the stratosphere he should take Leon Trotsky with him in his balloon. After all, Mars—the god behind all wars, including, perhaps, class-wars—might find some use for this out-cast of our world and attract him to himself. The earth will feel it a good riddance while who can say Mars is no convenient base from which Trotsky can project his fantastic Fourth International ?

A "Monstrous" Measure

There are many directions in which the reactionary nature of the present government in Great Britain has manifested itself. But one measure particularly which has been introduced in the Commons shows more clearly than ever the utterly reactionary character of the so-called "National Government" and of what the British people have in store if they tolerate it long enough. This obnoxious measure entitled "Incitement to Disaffection Bill," has been characterised by no less a paper than "The Manchester Guardian" as a "Monstrous Measure." Under the pretext of checking only the communist attempts at inciting the armed forces to revolt, the bill contains provisions which are calculaled to make grave inroads on the existing liberties of the subjects. Barring a few rabid die-hard papers every section of British opinion has unequivocally condemned the new measure. It has been pointed out by the critics of the bill that ample safeguards exist even under the present law to check attempts at incitement of the armed forces to mutiny. The new bill it is pointed out, makes even the possession of seditious documents 'without lawful excuse" a criminal offence. This, it is urged, introduces a dangerous principle unknown to British Law. Hitherto the subject has been entitled to possess any document he pleases. The inclusion of the qualification 'without lawful excuse' is no safeguard at all as it throws the onus of proof on the subject. What is perhaps the most serious objection to the bill is that it makes it an offence to do any act preparatory to commission of an offence. This covers considerably more than a mere attempt to commit an offence and will penalise acts capable of a perfectly innocent interpretation. The bill further proposes to extend to the police powers of general search and seizure, the principle of which Lord Campdon condemned as early as 1765. There are other objectionable features in the bill such as depriving the accused of the right to claim trial by Jury, which it is needless to refer to in detail. The bill is an unnecessary and unwarranted piece of legislation curtailing the liberties of the British people. It is an indication of the growing Fascist reaction even in "Democratic" Britain. We do hope the British people will bring sufficient pressure on their members in Parliament to compel them to throw out this bill in its entirety.

BOOK REVIEWS

(We shall be glad to review in these pages books and periodicals sent to us for the purpose. Publishers are requested to send them at least two weeks prior to the publication of this journal every month. ED.)

World Depression : By K. T. SHAH: —pp. 272. Price Rs. 1-8-0. Published by the National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd., Madras.

Through this book Mr. K. T. Shah the well-known economist of India makes a valuable contribution to world thought about the present depression. In the 5 chapters making up this work, he discusses the nature of world depression, its causes, its remedies, the conditions in U. S. A., and the last World Economic Conference. He considers that the deplorable want of adjustment between the factors of production and distribution is the principal cause of the depression leading to poverty and suffering in the midst of plenty. The palliatives adopted by the statesmen of various countries in the shape of tariff walls and tinkering with currency and exchange and the like do not touch the core of the problem but only aggravate the existing conditions. The only solution according to the author lies in the economic re-organisation of the whole world taken as a single common family so as to have equitable distribution of population, and world produce and also abolition of private property and profit. His remarks on the conditions in India are pointed and interesting. The suffering in India is due not only to the general world causes but also to her position as a subject nation and the consequent mismanagement and manipulation of her resources by her rulers to subserve the interests of others. The author deals with the problems in a clear and straight forward manner and as such the book is very interesting and highly valuable.

E. K.

'Is it a Crime?' By H. D. RAJAH :—pp. 224. Price Re. 1. Published by the Young Liberator office, Bombay. Copies available at the National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd. Madras.

This is an interesting novel, which provokes thought upon the many social problems of our country. In short it is the story of the sufferings of a young girl —a victim of child marriage-leading her after various vicissitudes to seek her happiness in marrying for a second time a noble young man who had been her compassionate helper and lover thereby defying the conventions of society regarding marriage. The evils of child marriage, and the dowry system, the irrational attitude between the sexes, poverty and its exploitation, the brothel problem and the ineffectiveness of a class conscious state machinery to check these evils are all clearly brought out. The author, a well-known nationalist pleads through the book for better and more rational adjustments of social relationship and for breaking through all oppressive man-made conventions of Society. It is particularly a clarion call to the youth of the country and as such it deserves to be read by everyone.

D. V. N.

Personalities in Present day Music: By E. KRISHNA IYER, pp. 120 with 15 art plates. Price Re. 1. Published by Rochouse and Sons.Copies available with the author and the National Literature Publishing Co. Ltd. at No. 3, Kondi Chetty Street Madras.

This is the first and a rare book of biographical and refined critical literature in India about musicians. The author deals with 18 leading artistes of S. India in vocal and Instrumental music and dance in the shape of pen-pictures so as to bring out types and styles in art. The reader is led on to these sketches through a valuable introduction discussing the essential factors that ought to be borne in mind for proper appreciation of music and musicians. The art of the book lies in giving true and faithful pictures of the artistes and their art each in the briefest possible space in a frank, sympathetic and unbiassed manner. The interesting variety in the methods of

approach, the application of certain tests and standards, the humorous touches regarding the personal idiosynchracies of the artistes and the informing dissertations regarding higher idealism in art—all these combine to provide delightful reading and food for thought. It is a contribution to the present Renaissance in S. Indian music and dance in the shape of stylish literature and refined criticism in art by a well known nationalist and amateur artist who has played a prominent part in the creation of this renaissance. It is intended to improve public tastes and standards in art and its appreciation and as such it is a timely and valuable guide to musicians and music lovers.

C. S.

Eamon de Valera (In Tamil) By BALA KUMAR. pp. 100 price As 6. Published by the National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd., 3, Kondi Chetty Street, Madras.

This is a very interesting little book and a valuable contribution to biographical literature in Tamil. The course of Irish history and the part played by this idol of that nation Eamon De Valera with his unbending courage and uncompromising idealism have provided thrill enough for all who are interested in the fight of subject nations for freedom. In this book, the author has portrayed the man and his times in a sympathetic and understanding manner. It is written in an easy and flowing style and ought to be in the hands of all interested in the study of nationalism in the various countries of the world. E.K.

GREETINGS

I wish the "New Age" all success and trust that consistently with its exalted title it will spread new ideas and ideals, progressive and radical enough to inspire the rising generation of this new age.

K. F. NARIMAN

I hope the "New Age" will help in ushering the new age when the dark clouds of today will vanish and real peace and plenty, liberty and happiness will rule the land. I wish the paper a long and useful career.

SRI PRAKASA

I am glad to know that a new monthly journal called "The New Age" is to be published from the month of June. I wish every success to your new venture.

S. A. BRELVI

A monthly journal like the "New Age" which will serve as a medium for the propagation of India's true national ideas and aspirations in the sphere of her political, economic and social life, will I have no doubt, be heartily welcomed by the public. I hope it will be intensely national in its outlook. There is a great deal of talk about the need for international co-operation and collaboration specially in matters economic and there is an alluring call to India not to tread the path of aggressive economic nationalism to which the present world depression is ascribed. In my opinion, India should not accept this invitation too readily. In the first place the co-operation of an industrially backward and commercially exploited country like India with countries which are well organised to exploit her is not a sound proposition. India has yet to organise and develop her Industries and Agriculture, which are comparatively speaking in a primitive state. She has to strive to change her people's outlook on life and improve their standards of life and purchasing power. All this is possible of accomplishment, in my opinion by an economic planning on an essentially national basis. India must follow Turkey and Germany in preserving to her nationals her Banking, Shipping, Insurance and other services. This must be the aim of the Indian National Congress. If the "New Age" under your Editorship stands for these ideals and preaches them unceasingly, it may become in time the official organ of the Congress. I wish your venture all success.

V. RAMDAS PANTULU

I am very interested to hear that you intend to produce "The New Age" as a monthly journal with a view to spread advanced thoughts in political, economic and social problems. India is so much oppressed at the present time with two temptations—the one to stand still and the other to return to the jungle—that we badly need new organs of advanced thought to encourage us to march with the times.

I wish you all success.

B. G. HORNIMAN

In these days of experimentation and evolution, we cannot have too many journals dealing with political and economic life of our country. More than practical solutions of problems, the development of the idealogy of people on correct lines is important. I gladly welcome therefore the new venture of my friend Mr. E. Krishna Iyer whose high ideals and sturdy patriotism coupled with strong and sober commonsense will be valuable assets to the Journal. I wish the "New Age" every success.

K. BASHYAM

I am very glad to learn that a new monthly journal called "The New Age" is to be published under your enlightened and patriotic editorship. There is increasing need in this country for honest, disinterested and thoughtful journalism. I trust your journal will supply that need. I wish it all success.

S. SATYAMURTI

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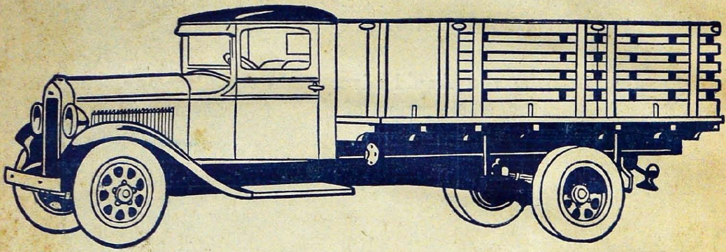

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